



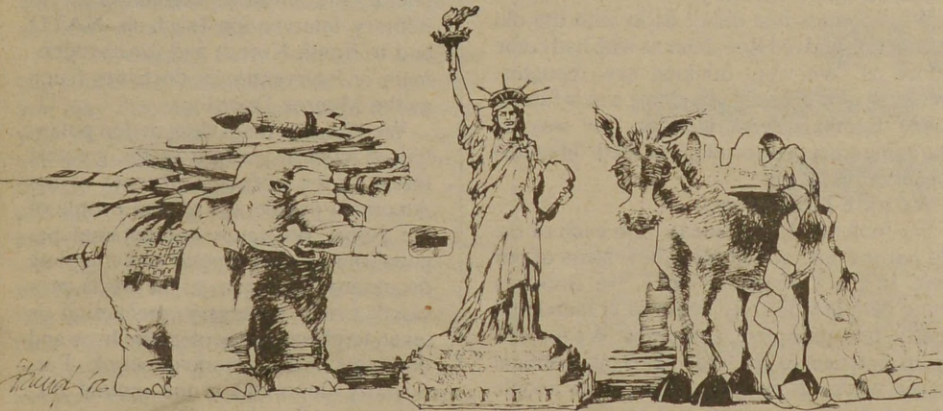
Libertarian Party

NEWS

Volume 1, Number 2

Special Issue

Spring 1986



NEWS Graphics by Richard Fitzhugh

Why You Should Join The Libertarian Party

If you generally favor the Republican Party because it seems to support freedom of enterprise, you may be concerned because Republican policies also support many who stand for repression of personal liberty.

They support censorship, an interventionist foreign policy, involuntary servitude through conscription, subsidies for favored corporations, government secrecy, and arbitrary police powers.

If you generally support Democrat policies because they seem to favor personal freedoms, you may be concerned because the Democratic Party also is home for many who work to erode private property rights.

They support high taxes, arbitrary and unrestrained interference with the market place, welfare for favored voting blocs, and welfare for favored corporations.

If you are an independent voter you may swing back and forth between the two major parties. You may have wished that there could be a third party to reflect your concern both for freedom of the individual and for freedom of enterprise. You may believe that only a world of free people can be a world at peace.

There is one and only one political party that is founded upon an uncompromising belief that personal freedom and responsibility, the free market, and peace all go together. It's the third largest party in the land. It's the Libertarian Party.

Only the Libertarian Party, of all organized political parties in the United States, stands for and acts for personal liberty and responsibility, private property, and the free market.

Only the Libertarian Party is pledged to the proposition that force should never be initiated to advance a political or personal cause.

Only the Libertarian Party has stuck steadfastly to its basic principles.

Only the Libertarian Party offers the opportunity to run for public office on principles that call for shrinking rather than extending state power.

Only the Libertarian Party offers the chance to use the political system to protect against the political system itself.

Only the Libertarian Party stands for the individual against the coercion, the conquests, and the collectivism of arbitrary authority and institutions.

If you want to make your own way in the world...If you want to be free to practice charity rather than being forced to support government welfare...If you want to live in a society of free and volitional communities rather than an ant-heap world of government compounds...If you want to be fully responsible for your own actions...If you reject the initiation of force...If you're that kind of person you're already a libertarian in spirit. If you want to be politically active as well, then the Libertarian Party is your party.

PLATFORM



Statement of Principles

We, the members of the Libertarian Party, challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual.

We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose.

Governments throughout history have regularly operated on the opposite principle, that the State has the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. Even within the United States, all political parties other than our own grant to government the right to regulate the lives of individuals and seize the fruits of their labor without their consent.

We, on the contrary, deny the right of any government to do these things, and hold that where governments exist, they must not violate the rights of any individual: namely, (1) the right to life—accordingly we support prohibition of the initiation of physical force against others; (2) the right to liberty of speech and action—accordingly we oppose all

attempts by government to abridge the freedom of speech and press, as well as government censorship in any form; and (3) the right to property—accordingly we oppose all government interference with private property, such as confiscation, nationalization, and eminent domain, and support the prohibition of robbery, trespass, fraud, and misrepresentation.

Since governments, when instituted, must not violate individual rights, we oppose all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relations among individuals. People should not be forced to sacrifice their lives and property for the benefit of others. They should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders; and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market.

This statement of principles comes from the current Libertarian Party Platform. Scattered throughout this issue are various planks from that Platform. We have by no means covered all the planks, and if you would like to receive the entire Libertarian Party Platform, contact the headquarters staff.

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Baby Boomers

A Generation for Liberty

By Randy Langhenry

In 1945, the Bomb went off, and the Boom echoed for nearly 20 years.

I'm often asked why and when I became a Libertarian. I've thought about the question for some time now, and I think the answer is that I've always been one, I just didn't know it.

You see, I'm a Baby-Boomer, one of over 75 million babies born after World War II and before 1964. We Boomers are part of the largest population increase in the history of the United States.

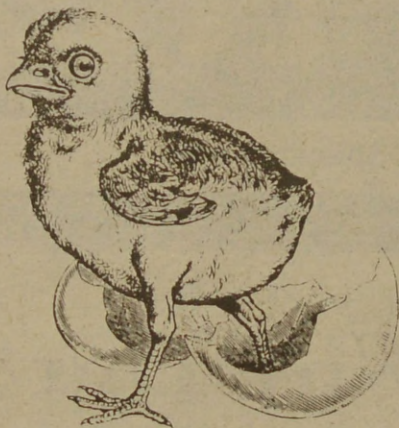
And we are different.

Boomers grew up with Ozzie and Harriet, Chip and Ernie, and, of course, the Beaver. Problems, big problems with a capital P, consisted of finding a date for Friday night, making sure we didn't wear yellow on Thursday (I'm not sure why now), and wondering if we would ever lose our virginity, and worrying that we might.

Through the 1950's, everything was Peace and Prosperity.

Boomers were the first generation aware of the nuclear threat. We didn't fully understand the magnitude of the situation, however, since we were taught at school to crawl under our desks for protection from fallout. Some of us had trouble sleeping; hearing airplanes at night sent some of us scurrying under the bed. But on the whole, we were enjoying life too much to be too concerned.

As we grew, Boomers were urged to think for ourselves, but we were warned there were some things we shouldn't think about. Boomers were told the government insured our freedom, but more and more frequently we saw that same government intruding into our personal lives. Boomers were told America was the Land of Opportunity, that every person could



become his or her own boss, own their own business, make their own fortune, but we saw "free" enterprise costing more and more.

Boomers were confused.

Boomers struggled with our political leanings.

Boomers were asked what we thought about free enterprise, and we answered we were for it. We wanted government off our backs, and an end to the massive governmental paperwork necessary to operate a business.

Oh, you're a Republican, our elders would say. Well maybe, we answered, but I don't think so.

Boomers were asked what we thought about individual liberty, and we answered we were for it. Again we wanted government off our backs. We wanted to read, watch, and do what we wanted. After all, that's what America is all about, isn't it?

Oh, you're a Democrat, our elders would say. Well maybe, we answered, but I don't think so.

In the early 1960's, Ozzie and the Beaver

were replaced by Bob Simon and Morley Safer, reporting from Vietnam. The first Boomers were just reaching the age of 18, and we were more confused than ever. We were raised believing that whatever the government did was for our own good, but suddenly we found ourselves questioning that government. We wondered how it could be good for us to die in some far-off land, and we Boomers were the ones that were dying.

Some Boomers turned to the political system for help. We tried Johnson and then Nixon, but it was the same old story.

We Boomers just didn't fit in with the old Democrats and old Republicans who had come before us. We were thinking new thoughts, dreaming new dreams, imagining a new future.

We Boomers were well on our way to becoming what one sociologist called "liberated conservatives."

We were Libertarians.

We took some good ideas from each of the old parties, and added some new ideas of our own. In the Libertarian Party, we Boomers found people who truly believed in individual liberty, free enterprise, and peace. We found a group not tied to the old, worn-out political power ways of the past. We found people interested in technology, not to be used for space weapons and government recordkeeping, but to be used for cottage industries and better individual communications networks.

We Boomers now make up nearly 50 percent of the American population, and it is time we found out who and what we are. In the 1960's and 70's, it was said we Boomers were "searching" for ourselves. We knew what we were all along, we just couldn't find the right label.

We're Libertarians. We always have been.



Military Policy

We recognize the necessity for maintaining a sufficient military force to defend the United States against aggression. We should reduce the overall cost and size of our total governmental defense establishment.

We call for the withdrawal of all American troops from bases abroad. In particular, we call for the removal of the U.S. Air Force as well as ground troops from the Korean peninsula.

We call for withdrawal from multi-lateral and bilateral commitments to military intervention (such as NATO and to South Korea) and for abandonment of interventionist doctrines (such as the Monroe Doctrine).

We view the mass-destruction potential of modern warfare as the greatest threat to the lives and liberties of the American people and all the people of the globe. We favor international negotiations toward general and complete disarmament down to police levels, provided every necessary precaution is taken to effectively protect the lives and the rights of the American people. Particularly important is the mutual disarmament of nuclear weapons and missiles, and other instruments of indiscriminate mass destruction of civilians.

The control of the production of wealth is the control of human life itself.

—Hilaire Belloc

What can you learn from our 1984 campaign?

Sixty how-to articles and over 100 newspaper clippings and the way the stories got to be "news" - press releases, position papers, points on strategy and method.

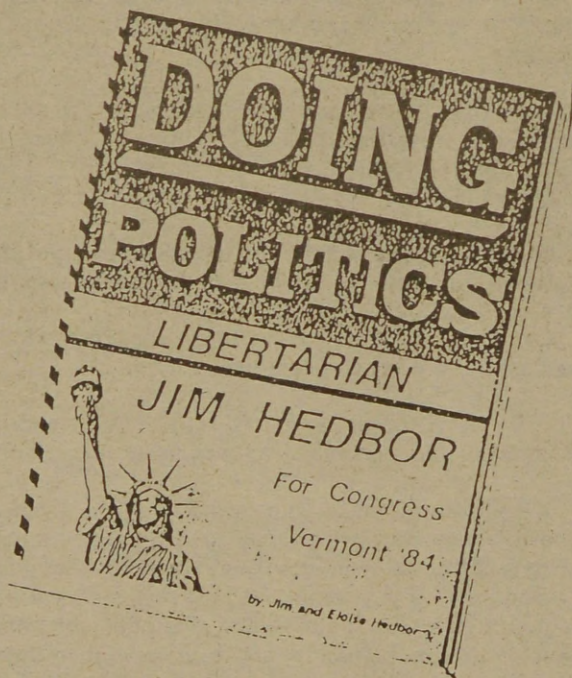
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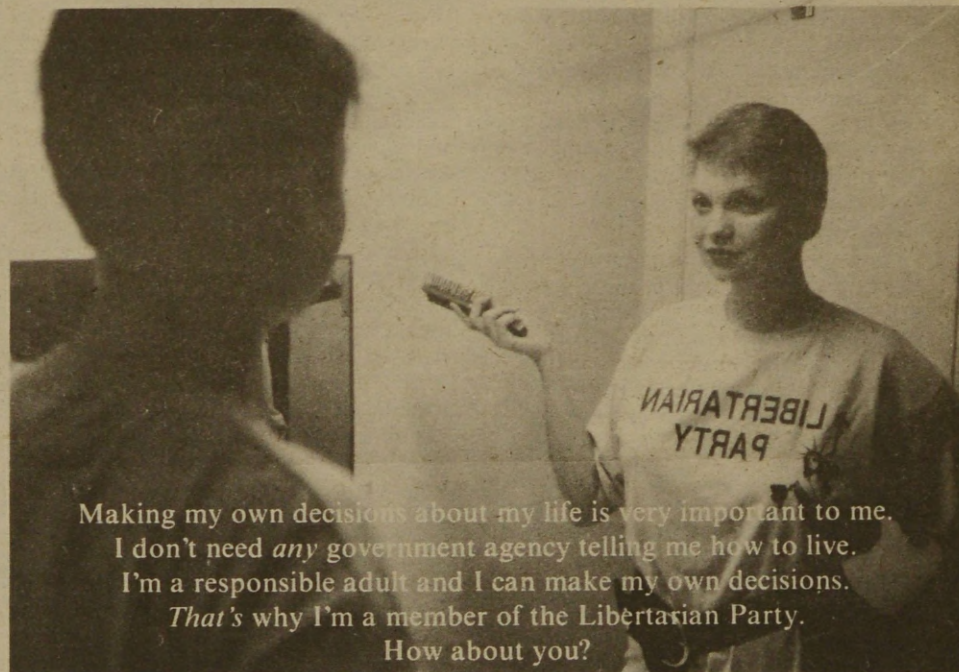
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Freedom of choice — Isn't just picking tonight's lipstick.



Making my own decisions about my life is very important to me.
I don't need *any* government agency telling me how to live.
I'm a responsible adult and I can make my own decisions.
That's why I'm a member of the Libertarian Party.
How about you?

Membership

Libertarian Party
301 West 21st Street • Houston, Texas 77008

I want to support the efforts of the LIBERTARIAN PARTY by becoming a national member in the category below:

☐ NEW ☐ RENEWAL
☐ Basic (\$15) ☐ Sustaining (\$20) ☐ Patron (\$100) ☐ Associate (\$250) ☐ Life/Benefactor (\$1000)

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Expiration Date _____

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*Occupation _____

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Telephone: Evening _____ Day _____
Make checks payable to Libertarian Party

*Optional. Federal Election Commission requires we ask.

Party Membership: What's In It for Me?

Libertarianism, by its nature, encourages individuals to have deep respect for themselves and to act in their own best self-interests.

It is reasonable then for anyone considering joining the Libertarian Party to ask "what's in it for me?" If a person's goal is to save the world but to sacrifice themselves (and others) in the process, it is likely that they would be happier in another sort of social action than the Libertarian Party. If a person's goal is personal freedom—and if they do not wish to deny freedom to anyone else—then the Libertarian Party may have great appeal.

And, indeed, there are answers to the question of what's in it for you, you personally, and not some abstract you.

The Libertarian Party represents an active and substantial information network in which you may discover practical ways to increase your personal freedom. Equitably, of course, you may want to share with others information that you generate on the same subject. The give and take, ebb and flow of information in this network also includes ongoing discussions that will help you hone your own ideas about liberty—and the ways people may behave in a free society. Through this network also flow data regarding specific and possible threats to personal liberty. As a warning system, such a network could be worth its weight in gold to anyone interested in preserving what freedom they enjoy.

At a time when media events have become such powerful levers of social action, and strong delineators of the material and limits of public debate, access to public forums becomes a valuable protector of existing freedoms and a tool with which to enlarge the possibilities of future freedom. The Libertarian Party, as the third largest political party in the country, automatically assures greater access to public forums than single voices. All Libertarians, knowing that the single voice is the authentic voice of liberty, regret this—but, also, knowing the facts of the case, members of the Libertarian Party have opted to seek access to public forums from a position of greater numbers. Libertarian ideas are in and of themselves powerful and convincing. The more who hear them, the more who join the cause of liberty.

In general, it is felt by members of the Libertarian Party, the existence of an organization with a substantial number of members and with access to public forums, provides a sort of public legitimization for ideas which otherwise might be heard as merely idiosyncratic. Libertarians, of course, know that the idiosyncratic, also, represents an authentic accent of freedom but, just as access to forums is aided by a publicly recognizable base of numbers of people, so are the arguments in those public forums made more propagandistically substantial by issuance from a movement of substance.

If, therefore, you regard it as useful to be able to speak of your own libertarian ideas to more people, and to have that conversation more firmly founded, joining with others in the Libertarian Party may be seen as providing actual value for your own personal participation in public forums.

Those of your neighbors who might regard you as a lone crank, alas, may be more eager to listen to you because you are speaking within the context of a familiar activity—partisan political activity. It is quite consistent with libertarian interpretations of the state of world affairs to regret the transformation of public debate (debate between sovereign individuals) into debate between institutions. It is also consistent, for many libertarians, to take whatever advantage they can of the situation in order to rectify it on behalf of individuals.

There may be times when you want to join an alliance formed between dissimilar people united in regard only to a specific issue. In such an alliance there may be advantages for you in being a member of the Libertarian Party. As a

lone individual in an alliance you run the risk always of being engulfed by the energy and zeal of others who bring with them a larger constituency. By joining an alliance from the base of substantial organization such as the Libertarian Party, your position in the alliance becomes stronger and you can better resist perversion of the alliance's specific purpose toward other purposes. For instance, in joining an alliance to oppose some particular act of state imperialist foreign policy, the Libertarian will be alert to the perversion of the specific opposition into a special pleading for,

to cite just one example, those whose actual purpose is to support the imperialism of some other power.

Ad hoc alliances actually may be very valuable in advancing the cause of liberty or, at least, thwarting further encroachments on it. The substantial constituency represented by the Libertarian Party will, in any alliance you wish to join, give you an advantage in keeping the alliance on course and away from the special pleadings of hidden agendas.

Finally, there is the sense of community that many find in the Libertarian Party, the excite-

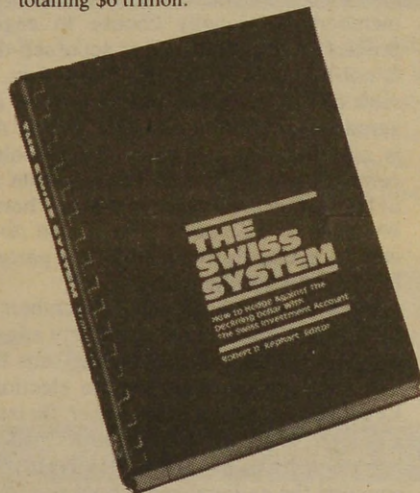
ment and warmth of sharing with others on a regular basis the work toward a free society, toward free markets, and toward free individuals. Strengths, resources, skills, information, and knowledge can all be shared in this community—all voluntarily and all for the purpose of advancing not just a theoretical proposition but in concretely advancing your own freedom.

Those are some of the reasons why it might be profitable for you to join the Libertarian Party.

WHY EVERY PRUDENT AMERICAN SHOULD KEEP SOME MONEY IN SWITZERLAND

Dear Fellow American:

Can there be any doubt that we are living in the eye of a hurricane? Consider the fragile condition of the U.S. banking system, now hostage to the whims of third-world debtor nations. The escalating U.S. budget deficits. U.S. trade balances now at historic highs. Public and private debt totalling \$6 trillion.



You cannot afford to ignore these storm clouds. And you surely cannot afford to have all of your assets inside the U.S. when the storm finally hits. Why? Because, when the crisis arrives, the government will impose controls to keep your wealth in the U.S. and then will inflate, tax and possibly confiscate it in response.

That is why geographical diversification of some of your assets now—before exchange controls make it impossible—may be the most important survival step you will ever take.

My name is Robert Kephart and for eight years I conducted seminars in Zurich for Americans just like you. Men and women who realize that to hold all their eggs in the U.S. basket is to flirt with disaster. In Zurich they met a handful of carefully selected Swiss—bankers, financial advisors, investment managers—who helped them quietly, confidentially create their nest egg in the world's safest money haven.

I no longer produce these seminars. But the actual program presentations have been transcribed and bound in a 211 page report called **THE SWISS SYSTEM**.

THE SWISS SYSTEM will help you enter the world of Swiss banking just as so many tens of thousands of prudent Americans have before you. It will show you how to maintain your investments confidentially, far from Washington's prying eyes. And not just investments within Switzerland. You will discover that you can use a Swiss account to invest in every market in the world. You will discover Swiss-managed investment funds. Cost-averaged gold and silver investment plans. Insurance and annuity policies in stable Swiss francs.

Yes, **THE SWISS SYSTEM** is far more than just another book—it's a comprehensive *Special Report*, containing every vital element you would have learned at one of my seminars in Switzerland.

Let me give you a few more examples of the useful and fascinating material you'll find in your copy of **THE SWISS SYSTEM**:

- How to move funds to and from Switzerland—confidentially.
- Swiss bank secrecy—how it protects you.
- How to open your first Swiss bank account.
- What is the famous Swiss numbered account?
- What is legal? What isn't.
- Why Swiss banks are called "financial supermarkets."
- How to retire on annuity income from Switzerland.
- Should a Swiss bank manage your stock and bond portfolio?
- Managed funds in Switzerland.
- Swiss gold and silver investment plans—free of Swiss taxes, and securely stored in Zurich.
- Should you consider Swiss real estate and Swiss residency?
- What if exchange controls are imposed—what happens to your Swiss accounts?
- What if gold ownership is outlawed?

In **THE SWISS SYSTEM**, you'll find all the answers and more discussed in exhaustive detail and accompanied by dozens of helpful charts to give you a clear picture of world investment trends. You will find sample Swiss banking agreements translated into plain English.

Also included are special tear-out forms allowing you to send in for *personalized* proposals from recommended Swiss financial institutions, *without obligation and in strictest confidence*.

WHAT ABOUT SWISS BANK SECRECY?

In Switzerland, Orwell's 1984 still seems pleasantly remote. Bankers there don't copy your checks for the government. They don't open records for casual inspection.

On the contrary, Swiss law demands absolute secrecy in banking and investments and sternly punishes any Swiss who betrays a client's trust. *No one* can violate the privacy of your Swiss account—not the U.S. government—not even the Swiss government.

Legend has it that Swiss vaults are lined with the loot of criminals and dictators and the profits

of drug dealers. Such tales are surely exaggerated because the Swiss will not knowingly deal with such people. But *who knows?* Swiss bank accounts are, after all, absolutely secret.

The fact is, the overwhelming majority of Swiss bank clients are honest, law-abiding citizens like you and me. What sets them apart is that they have discovered the *safest possible haven* for their offshore nest egg—and some of the most fertile investment possibilities the world has to offer.

NINE INTERNATIONAL EXPERTS SHOW YOU THE WAY

- SIEGFRIED HERZOG:** Using your Swiss bank account for privacy and profit.
HUBERT WEBER: Managing your assets through a Swiss bank investment portfolio.
BRUNO BANDULET: International gold markets.
JOHN A. PUGSLEY: The case for investing abroad.
JURG M. LATTMANN: Investment planning—the Swiss way.
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If you attended one of my international seminars, you would have paid up to \$500 for the same information you will find in **THE SWISS SYSTEM**. That's why, at just \$30, this comprehensive special report is such an outstanding bargain.

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Sincerely,
Robert D. Kephart



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SA305

Viewpoint

Factions: Something For Everyone

By Karl Hess

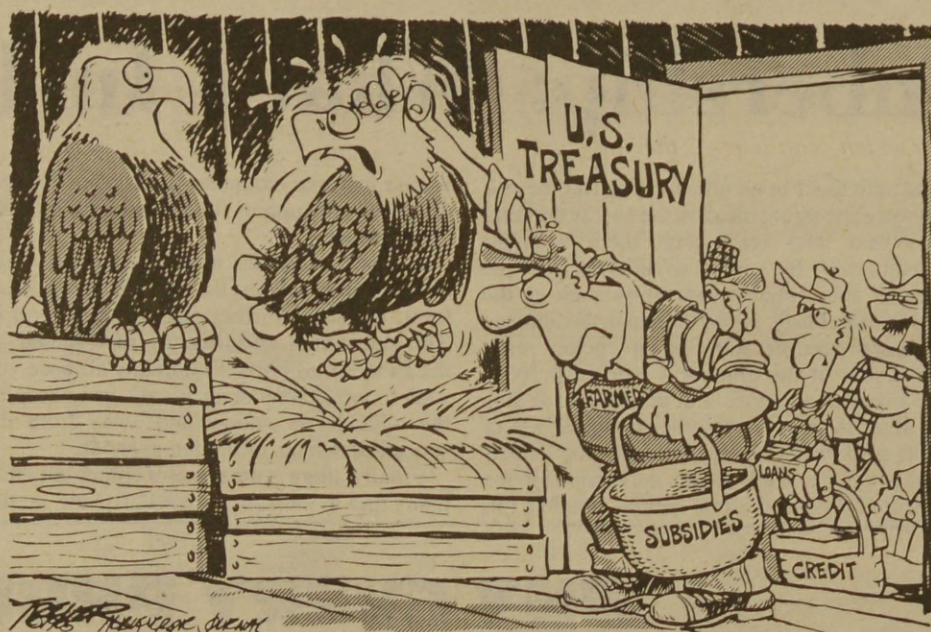
Uniting only on the principle that force should not be initiated to advance a cause, personal, political, or philosophical, members of the Libertarian Party represent widely varying approaches to social action.

The most radical of these approaches, and proudly described as radical by those who follow it, is hard-line insistence that every libertarian action should be an action directly and unambiguously intended to abolish the nation state. The radical libertarian position does not advocate any compromise, any middle-ground, any realpolitik. It urges that the Libertarian Party place the enunciation of principled anti-state arguments foremost. Campaigns for elective office, in the radical view, serve as platforms for the dissemination of radical views.

The radical view is contrasted sharply with the minarchist, or minimum government viewpoint. The position here is that the Libertarian Party, by calling itself a political party, should take "real world" positions aimed at decreasing state power where it cannot abolish it; in short, being political and practical in action even when philosophical in discussion. Actually, to some minarchists, the abolition of the state, root and branch, is not clearly desirable. They hold to a notion of social agreement regarding governance which sees a role for a public agency with at least the scope of a state to protect property rights, reduce the cost of transactions, and, perhaps, even defend the continent. Yet, if they have agreed to join the Libertarian Party, they have also agreed that this arrangement of governance would have to be accomplished without the initiation of force.

A Libertarian Party member holding the radical view would not be likely to campaign on an issue that sought to reduce the economic distortions or garrison-state security measures of the Pentagon, but would prefer to campaign on proposals to abolish the Pentagon altogether and turn continental defense functions over to private military corporations. The other Libertarian Party viewpoint would be to campaign for immediately achievable revisions of existing security laws.

From these two viewpoints, different politi-



"QUICK! RUN DOWN TO THE MONEY MARKET AND BORROW SOME EGGS - TELL 'EM TO PUT IT ON OUR TAB!"

cal styles emerge.

The radical view is represented by Presidential campaigns waged on precise and ideal statements of anti-state positions. The radical style is abolitionist.

The minimum government view is represented by Presidential campaigns waged with what are felt to be practical, achievable, and publicly attractive legislative alternatives to existing policies. Further, this viewpoint animates the actions of many Libertarian Party members who have concentrated on local political campaigns even when they involve only a limited opportunity to state the widest range of libertarian positions. In this localist view, the privatization of a single municipal service is useful even though it is not accomplished in a campaign that seeks the abolition of all public service.

There is developing within the Libertarian Party another political style that could be called one of synthesis. There are those who hold strongly to the radical position as a matter of personal conviction but who are willing to engage in practical political activities, particularly at the local level, which do not or cannot fully express those convictions. Their slogan might be "think radically, act practically."

There will always, probably, be those in the Libertarian Party who will stand only for an unalloyed radical or an unalloyed minimum government position. Their arguments will constitute some of the most exciting debates of Libertarian conferences and communication. And those arguments will, as they are worked out, form the style of specific Libertarian Party activities such as Presidential campaigns. The view of synthesis, meanwhile, may set the agenda for many local campaigns beyond the

fundamentalist debates.

Beyond these positions held internally within the Libertarian Party there are positions external to the Party but vital to the movement toward individual responsibility and liberty.

There is the well-formed view that any political activity, even the act of voting itself, is an endorsement of an over-arching nation state political system which can only be described as coercive. The fact that Libertarian Party members volitionally choose to engage in politics as, one could say, an act of self-defense is not accepted in the anti-party view. In the view of synthesis, the anti-party view is treasured as an expression of liberty itself. All that is asked is that anti-party energy—although certainly not arguments—concentrate its fire as fiercely on the nation state as on "heretical" libertarians. The other side of that street, of course, is that Party members (or partyarchs) follow the equivalent course.

Particularly challenging for members of the Libertarian Party is the anti-party suggestion that any political activity strengthens the nation state system and that the election of a Libertarian school board member, for instance, although it might lead to new freedom for private or home schooling locally, inexorably supports the nationalized school system in the broader sense.

It is not the responsibility of critics to prove this. It is the responsibility of Libertarian Party members to disprove it, and it is an implied fundamental proposition of the Party position that this can be done. It is the responsibility of Party members, also, to come to grips with the problem presented by volunteering to engage in the election of a hierarchical internal organization that must always skate on the thin ice of

possible bureaucratization. Critics will be quick to point to the problems of such an organization, mimicking, as it does, many of the features of traditional nation state institutions. Libertarian Party members, rather than responding with anger to such criticism, again, might respond with convincing proof that the spirit of liberty can survive such an organized framework.

There is, also, the totally isolationist view that any action in the public world is an invitation to mischief and to exposure to nation state pressure. There is, of course, no conflict here with the Libertarian Party since Party members choose voluntarily to ignore the isolationist advice, at their own freely chosen risk. A slight variation of the isolationist view is that carefully guarded commercial activities, not colliding with great state power or making claims on it, is the only proper activity for a libertarian. There could hardly be a Libertarian Party position that would oppose this. The Party's goal includes the eventual freedom for all humans to engage in absolutely unfettered free market transactions. To those who can achieve the goal already, in their personal dealings, all libertarians must say hurrah. There is, of course, nothing that bars, in principle or practice, any Libertarian Party member from pursuing their free market goals here and now as zealously as they are able. Local practical political action, it is hoped, can advance that freedom even though it may not be able to perfect it. Many hold the same hope for Presidential-level activities.

The Libertarian Party, with factions within itself, is itself just a faction of libertarianism generally. It is a faction of people who have chosen, of their own free will, to engage in certain political activities which they hold can have a positive effect on the protection of or the spread of liberty. Every Libertarian Party member should be grateful for the critical assaults launched against it by other libertarians. It helps keep them on their toes. And where that criticism proves unassailable and unanswerable then, in good sense, Libertarian Party members should act upon it. Similarly, when critical libertarians outside the Party find good work done by the Party, they may wish to join, support, or at least acknowledge it.

There seem many paths toward liberty, whether those paths are called factions or philosophies. We are each of us the means to our own ends. Perhaps it is just the journey itself that beckons us all.

The only way in this free land to be assured of one's free rights is freely and generously to acknowledge other people's rights.

— Benjamin Harrison

Libertarian Party NEWS

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Volume One?

Noting that the Libertarian Party NEWS has been published for many years, several readers have asked why the most recent issue was indexed on its cover as Vol. 1, No. 1. They will wonder, similarly, why this issue is Vol. 1, No. 2.

The reason is purely technical.

In the past, with an irregular printing schedule, the Libertarian Party NEWS had not been indexed by volume or issue number at all. Now that it is the intent of the Party to publish the NEWS regularly, a standard indexing by volume and number is appropriate.

Rather than confuse the issue by assigning volume and numbers to the past issues which had been designated only by months of issue, the editorial staff opted to begin the formal indexing with the first issue under the new schedule. And although the issue that you are holding is a special one it too is being indexed as part of the regular series to maintain continuity. Number three is due to go in the mail during the last week in April.

PLATFORM

Victimless Crimes

Because only actions that infringe the rights of others can properly be termed crimes, we favor the repeal of all federal, state, and local laws creating "crimes" without victims. In particular, we advocate:

- the repeal of all laws prohibiting the production, sale, possession, or use of drugs, and of all medicinal prescription requirements for the purchase of vitamins, drugs, and similar substances;
- the repeal of all laws restricting or prohibiting the use or sale of alcohol, including the imposition of a minimum drinking age, and making bartenders or hosts responsible for the behavior of customers and guests;
- the repeal of all laws or policies authorizing stopping drivers without probable cause to test for alcohol or drug use;
- the repeal of all laws regarding consensual sexual relations, including prostitution and solicitation, and the cessation of state oppression and harassment of homosexual men and women, that they, at last, be accorded their full rights as individuals;
- the repeal of all laws regulating or prohibiting the possession, use, sale, production, or distribution of sexually explicit material, independent of "socially redeeming value" or compliance with "community standards";
- the repeal of all laws regulating or prohibiting gambling; and
- the repeal of all laws interfering with the right to commit suicide and infringements of the ultimate right of an individual to his or her own life.

We demand the use of executive pardon to free and exonerate all those presently incarcerated or ever convicted solely for the commission of these "crimes."

Further, we recognize that, often, the federal government blackmails states which refuse to comply with these laws by withholding funds and we applaud those states which refuse to be so coerced.

Unless we can make the philosophical foundations of a free society once more a living intellectual issue, and its implementation a task which challenges the ingenuity and imagination of our liveliest minds, the prospects of freedom are indeed dark.

—Friedrich A. Hayek

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A True Political Spectrum

By Marshall Fritz

I frequently get the question, "Where do libertarians fit on the political map?" Some questioners follow with a statement that libertarians seem more right-wing than conservatives when discussing economics, yet more left-wing than liberals when talking about civil liberties. One time on a flight to Cincinnati, my seatmate asked, "Why don't you libertarians settle down so I can figure out where to put you?"

People are trying to make sense of the libertarians on the scale they know best, the standard left-right political spectrum. See Figure 1.

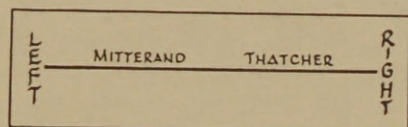


Figure 1

The standard left-right political spectrum.

There may be an advantage for politicians, academics, and journalists to use such a simplistic model, but it confuses the libertarian perspective. If there is no room for an idea on their map, it gets ignored.

No one recognizes this more than the 1984 Libertarian Party candidate for U.S. President, David Bergland. In his book, *Libertarianism in One Lesson*, he says there is no place on the traditional political spectrum for anyone who is "consistently committed to the right of people to control their own lives." (Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626. \$2 for one copy, \$10 for ten.)

The world of political ideas is similarly distorted by the oversimplified left-right model.

Academics and journalists are recognizing the weakness of the old left-right model. For example, University of the Pacific political science professor Jerry Briscoe sent me a letter after I'd discussed these concepts with his class: "You have caused me to rethink what I say about the left-right continuum, since the libertarians seem to have a position which does not fit conveniently into anything on the horizon."

Kevin Phillips, publisher of *The American Political Report*, calls the liberal-conservative dichotomy "obsolete" because it fails to describe the "nuances and divisions" of U.S. politics. In a November 27, 1984, *Wall Street Journal* article he calls for an "overhaul" of our political nomenclature, and alludes to a new book that addresses the question. (See Maddox & Lilie, below.)

Howard Fineman, in the October 15, 1985, *Newsweek*, condemns the old fashioned model: "Welcome to an era of brand-name confusion in American politics. Everyone agrees the hoary liberal-conservative labels are meaningless."

Political scientists needed a breakthrough. It came fifteen years ago, and as is often the case, the new idea came not from the people within the discipline, but from the outside.

Denver advertising executive David Nolan published the seminal article, "Classifying and Analyzing Politico-Economic Systems," in the January, 1971, issue of the *Individualist*. Figure 2 shows the highlights of his chart as shown in that article.

Nolan divides human action into two categories, "economic" and "social." His chart has two axes, one to measure percent of freedom in economic affairs, the other in social affairs.

Nolan may have been first, but two professors at the University of Central Florida, William Maddox and Stuart Lilie, have done the most extensive research I've seen on the Nolan Chart. In their book, *Beyond Liberal and Conservative* (Cato Institute, 1984), Maddox and Lilie suggest a matrix approach

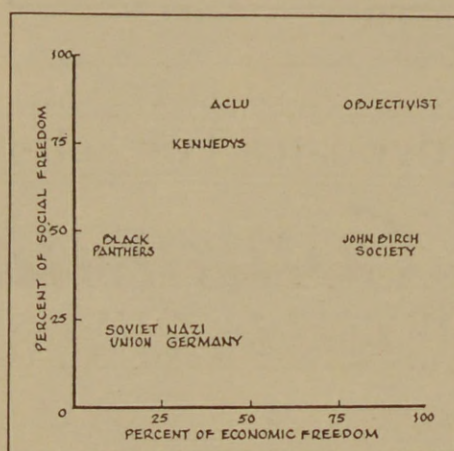


Figure 2

The Nolan Chart: who wants how much economic freedom and social freedom.

with four quadrants: liberal, conservative, populist, and libertarian. Their research indicates that a fair number of Americans are in the libertarian quadrant.

I like this four-quadrant approach and have been using it in my "Introduction to Libertarianism" lectures since I first saw it in the August, 1981, Cato Institute policy analysis by the same authors. The quadrant approach recognizes that individuals of the same ideology have considerable variation in the specifics of their views. These four general categories are areas of general agreement, and in no way are cults with lock-step followers.

But I do suggest a change in the label for the folks who trust in government. "Populist" doesn't really do it. Some other possibilities are statist, collectivist, interventionist, and totalitarian. While "totalitarian" has a certain noxious tone I like, I suspect "interventionist" may be the best for explaining the Nolan Chart without evoking defensiveness. See Figure 3.

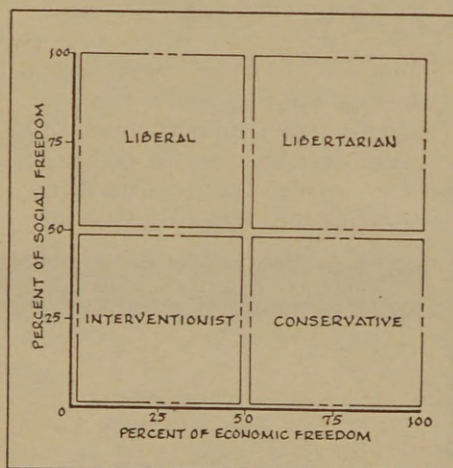


Figure 3

The "four continents" of the political world: liberal, conservative, interventionist, and libertarian.

When you're sharing this concept with friends, you want them to have fun and not be bored. Here's the way I live it up in an "Introduction to Libertarianism" evening:

Starting with the horizontal scale, let's consider how much "economic freedom" conservatives want. Most conservatives aren't too sure they can run other people's economic lives, and they sure don't want other people bossing them around, so they like quite a bit of economic freedom. If you ask them 20 questions about economic intervention versus allowing individuals to make their own choices, conservatives will answer 50 percent to 90 percent in favor of individual choice.

Staying with the horizontal axis, let's imagine the response of liberals to these same 20 questions about who makes economic decisions. Oops! We see a different attitude.

They'd allow individual choice much less often, usually 20 percent to 50 percent. They want the collective to be intervening in people's economic decisions, and they plan to be running the collective.

The vertical scale, what Nolan calls "social freedom," is often called "civil liberties." Here we're measuring the percent of freedom (from government intervention) in those human actions which are not measured in dollars. For example, the way you worship God, or don't (compulsory church attendance); how much attention you pay to safety (compulsory seat belts); what books and magazines you read (censorship); and what sorts of chemicals you use for recreation, if any (prohibition).

Imagine asking conservatives 20 questions about who should make decisions in such matters of personal morality. Now it's the conservatives who want to run other people's lives; in this case, to stamp out sin.

Indeed, while some civil liberties can be very important to conservatives (e.g., the 2nd Amendment right to keep and bear arms), they typically score only 20 percent to 50 percent in favor of the social freedoms. They want "community standards," and they plan to be running the community.

Liberals, while they have strong desires to regulate other people's economic behavior, are more easy-going in social liberties. They usually score 50 percent to 90 percent on the vertical scale.

Now, let's look at the continent in the lower left of the political world. It is inhabited by some interesting folks who want to intervene in all parts of society, hence are called interventionists. When they go overboard and want to be in total control, they're called totalitarians.

The upper right continent is inhabited by some interesting folks, too: the libertarians. They share no border with the interventionists.

They share a border with the liberals because, like most liberals, libertarians are strong defenders of civil rights. They believe people deserve to make their own decisions in matters of personal behavior as long as they are not trampling on the rights of someone else. As Jefferson said in his first inaugural address, people should be "free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement."

Libertarians also share a border with conservatives. Like conservatives, they hold deep convictions in favor of free enterprise and respect the economists Rothbard, Friedman, Hayek, and Mises. In that same address, Jefferson says that a good government "shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

Author Richard Maybury suggests this compact summary of the people who inhabit the four political continents:

- Liberals generally advocate economic encroachment and civil liberty.
- Conservatives generally advocate economic liberty and civil encroachment.
- Interventionists advocate both economic and civil encroachment.
- Libertarians advocate both economic and civil liberty.

Another variation of the Nolan Chart emphasizes the role of tolerance in libertarianism. If we relabel the two axes on the chart "tolerance of economic diversity" and "tolerance of behavioral diversity," we echo Maybury's definitions:

- Liberals tolerate behavioral diversity but compel economic conformity.
- Conservatives tolerate economic diversity but compel behavioral conformity.
- Totalitarians compel both behavioral and economic conformity.
- Libertarians tolerate both economic and behavioral diversity.

(This reminds me of the wisecrack that

libertarians are tolerant about everything except other libertarians who hold different views on ideology or strategy. They're considered fools, depraved, or both.)

The Nolan Chart is a better model for understanding the world of politics than the left-right spectrum for several reasons. First, it has a place on the map for libertarians. Second, it places interventionists such as Marxists and fascists next to each other. Last, it gives us a clearer, more demonstrable contrast between liberals and conservatives.

Using this chart helps immensely when explaining libertarianism because many people must pigeonhole a new concept before they study it. Since this is what people need, it behooves libertarians to help them use this logical model for categorizing. Then, once they know where libertarianism "fits in," they can start looking at the ideas with a more open mind.

Williamson Evers, libertarian scholar, uses the Nolan Chart to give modern-day Americans a clearer picture of our American heritage. In a 1983 speech, Evers showed how Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Patrick Henry, and the other founders all had enough dedication to liberty to fit them into the libertarian quadrant. Evers even says that what we Americans love about America is "not the amber waves of grain or even the purple mountains' majesty." He says plenty of other lands have amber waves, and some have purple mountains, but what we love about America is our heritage of self-government and individual choice. Indeed, our tradition of "libertarianism."

Jim Lewis, 1984 Libertarian Party candidate for U.S. Vice President, reminds us of the old dictum, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and then gives this bold accusation: "The last three or four generations haven't been very vigilant." He echoes the concern of communist-turned-libertarian Rose Wilder Lane that we've turned our backs on the American Revolution and have been returning to the Old World concept that the ruler is responsible for all aspects of his subjects' care.

William Safire, columnist, *New York Times*, December, 1984, tells how we've lost these liberties. He says the left takes our property in the form of taxes and the right takes our individual right to make personal moral decisions. He recognizes that libertarians are consistent advocates of both liberties, then complains that neither left nor right sees each other as allies, and by remaining divided they're "losing to the side that holds that government knows best."

Philip Mitchell, psychologist, describes the erosion of our legacy of liberty in a March, 1984, article in *Time for Liberty*. He tells us that liberals have been more successful in increasing government controls over economic affairs than in expanding civil liberties. "Equally tragic," he says, is how the conservatives have been more influential in restricting civil liberties than in promoting economic freedom of choice.

Baby-Boomers

Nolan, in his 1971 article, used the chart to predict a major shift in the dominant axis of American politics.

He begins by noting that his prediction would be incomprehensible in terms of the left-right spectrum because all possibilities have to be conceived of in terms of shifts along the line. His prediction is that "the primary political development of the next few decades is going to be a shift in the position of the 'mainstream line' itself!"

In Figure 4, the dotted area shows the left-right spectrum superimposed on the Nolan Chart. It represents the range of mainstream political viewpoints in the U.S. in 1971.

Nolan then predicts that "probably in the 1980's" the different political attitudes of the

near the center are labeled "centrist" and people outside the center area, no matter what quadrant, are called "crusaders."

The center area represents people who look at political issues with primary concern for *how* things are done, *how* things appear, and the *intentions* behind a person's political actions. While centrists have different positions on *what* they believe on the issues, this is not as important to them as the fact that they agree with other centrists "about the means and styles of approaching life."

Each of the corner areas represents people with clear distinctions in ideology. These differences in *what* they believe are key to their attitudes. They are deeply committed to *what* they believe. We'll refer to them as "crusaders."

After thus setting his basic definitions, Mitchell drops the bombshell: A centrist who

Continued on Page 8

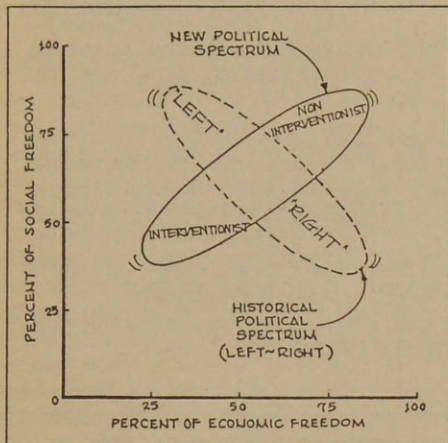


Figure 4

Baby-boomers may shift the mainstream from "left vs. right" to "non-interventionist vs. interventionist."

baby-boomers will cause a shift in the new mainstream polarization to an interventionist vs. non-interventionist polarization. Nolan then warns that the new polarization is less stable than the old, and that America will have to go one way or the other—"either toward a free society, or toward a statist one."

Howard Fineman confirms the prediction 15 years later. In the above mentioned *Newsweek* article, Fineman says the political issues are better understood by dividing the political world into two camps: those who "look to action by a central authority" and those who "believe government cures are worse than the disease."

He also sees increased interest in understanding the substance of issues, and quotes Republican political guru Lee Atwater that the American people want the issues "handled in a thoughtful, analytical manner."

Thomas Moore has good news in his *Fortune* (August 5, 1985) article "The New Libertarians Make Waves." He says "baby-boom business leaders" are taking a fresh look at politics, that they're neither consistent liberals nor conservatives, and that they oppose government intervention in "both the economy and personal lives." He quotes Harvard Business School professor D. Quinn Mills, who estimates in his book *The New Competitors* that 60 percent of the young managerial group can be considered libertarian, 35 percent conservative, and 5 percent liberal.

This estimate of 60 percent highlights the biggest frustration in the libertarian movement—our awareness that millions of people already agree with us, but they've never seen libertarian ideas presented in such a way as to be convincing. Now let's look at why this is so, and what you can do about it.

Curing a Conflict

Philip Mitchell used the Nolan Chart in an entirely different way in the June 1984 *Time for Liberty*. Dr. Mitchell, a psychologist and communications consultant to Advocates for Self-Government, has a message which can help us more deeply understand political diversity.

We can use this new idea to help resolve some of the unnecessary conflict in the liberty movement. Most exciting to libertarians is that the resolution of that conflict is the key to finding the 60 percent who already agree with us and don't know it. We can use the key to help them encounter, evaluate, and embrace our ideas.

In the original Nolan Chart, we discriminate people by *what* they believe; i.e., the "substance" of their political ideas. In Figure 5, Mitchell is analyzing an entirely different facet of our human makeup: differences in *how* people approach political issues, not *what* the issues are.

For the purpose of making his point, people

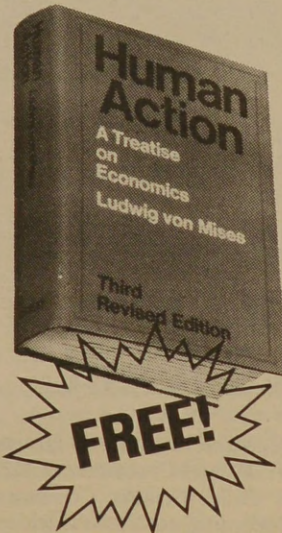
Distribution of Ideological Types in the 1970s, by Percent

Ideological Category	1972	1976	1980
Liberal	17	16	24
Populist	30	24	26
Conservative	18	18	17
Libertarian	9	13	18
Inattentive/Divided	25	29	15

Source: William S. Maddox and Stuart A. Lilie, *Beyond Liberal and Conservative* (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1984), table 3.

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Spectrum

Continued from Page 7

holds libertarian beliefs is more apt to vote for a liberal or conservative centrist politician than a fellow libertarian who is a crusader.

This sheds considerable light on some of the ongoing frictions in the libertarian movement. Centrists and crusaders view each other with hostility.

Crusaders divide people according to how "pure" their beliefs are. They see centrists as "unprincipled, wishy-washy cattle" who are "pawns" of another corner.

Centrists divide people by how they put their beliefs into action. They see crusaders, even those with similar ideology, as unreasonable radicals whose very methods will prevent reaching their shared goals.

While a superficial evaluation denies these two camps will ever blend, Mitchell says they can, they need to, and shows us how to do it. Both sides need each other. By themselves, neither side of the how-what split can make a significant change. Both have something to offer: The crusaders provide the "fire, drive, and sense of direction." The centrists have sheer numbers and a "sense of how to present things" so they will be accepted.

The marriage of the two will happen as members of each side look beyond the illusions they have about the other, and recognize that "both form and substance are assets."

Much of what we're doing in the Advocates for Self-Government works to resolve this split. We need to reach those 60 percent of the young managers who already agree with us. The way to do it is to design better ways to communicate libertarian ideas—ways that are just as honest and "pure" as those of the past, but present our ideas in attractive and acceptable ways.

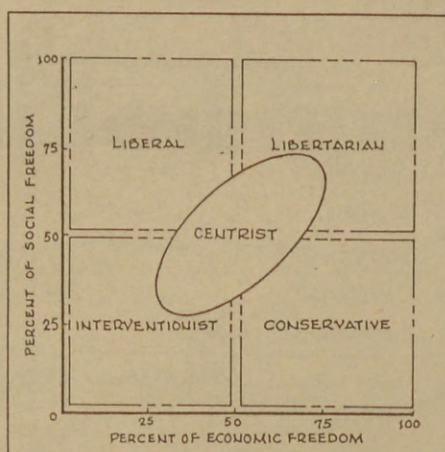


Figure 5 Graphics by Roy McKinney

Centrists are concerned with how social change occurs; crusaders are concerned with what occurs.

So the next time someone asks, "where do libertarians fit in the world of politics," smile. Presume your questioner is among the 60 percent. He or she needs to know how to fit us into the political map; once that's done, he or she can start evaluating our ideas with an open mind. Get out your pen and a scratch pad and draw the four continents of the Nolan Chart for your friend. And have fun doing it!

Marshall Fritz is the Chairman of the Advocates for Self-Government, a non-profit educational organization that specializes in teaching liberty-minded people how to communicate their ideas. For information about the Advocates, call 1-800-932-1776 (outside California) or 209-292-1776, or write to 5533 E. Swift, Fresno, CA 93727. For an audio cassette of his speech, "Beyond the Left-Right Spectrum," send \$9.00 to the above address.

The Second Annual Advocates' Summit Meeting will be held at the Hyatt Regency, Bethesda, MD, June 28-July 2, 1986.

BUMPER STICKER BREAKTHROUGH

If you're a centrist, you probably don't like bumper stickers too much. They're a little tacky. In fact, when you drive into the parking lot at a libertarian meeting, you always see some crusader's car with eight or nine strident bumper stickers. You're embarrassed by your association with people who would strike your friends, and most other people, as somewhat bizarre. "With people like that," you wonder if the movement will ever grow.

If you're a crusader, you're proud of your values and enjoy displaying them. You can see that if it weren't for crusaders like you, nobody would've ever heard of the libertarians. You're a bit angry at those wishy-washy libertarians who don't care enough about liberty to sport even one bumper sticker. You wonder if the movement will ever grow "with people like that."

There's the problem. One side isn't helping, and the action of the other side—in spite of good intentions—has unintended consequences which are counter-productive.

Here is one little suggestion to start fixing the split: a new bumper sticker—a nice little one, say one by six inches—that just says "LIBERTARIAN."

Ballot Access

Separate Fund Fights for The Ticket

At its December meeting in Houston, the Libertarian National Committee (LNC) made the Party's Ballot Access Committee self-funding. According to Steve Fielder, BAC chair, this is an important step toward putting the Libertarian Party's presidential ticket on every ballot in 1988.

Money contributed to the Ballot Access Fund will be spent on projects directly related to ballot access: petition drives, striking down unconstitutional election laws, and lobbying to enact fairer ones.

The fund was seeded with money left over from the Bergland for President campaign. Fielder credits Dave Bergland and Sharon Ayres with the idea.

Fielder says the time to start working for full ballot status in '88 is now. "What went wrong in '84? Not enough time and not enough money! We expected our candidates to be able to organize and fund a nationwide petition drive from scratch. Because of the late start, we missed petition deadlines in several key states."

A number of projects are already underway leading to success in '88. The BAC was quick to help Nevada's current ballot drive, in trouble because the legislature there recently moved the filing deadline forward 60 days. "A success this year will probably mean the Nevada LP will be able to retain ballot status through 1990." The committee has just received a request for help from the Texas LP for another upcoming petition drive there.

Fielder emphasized that the BAC is completely self-funding. "What we can accomplish in '86 depends on our fundraising. That, in turn, depends on the success of our pledge program." He estimates that full ballot status in '88 will cost about \$600,000.

"Running candidates for political office is the one thing that sets the LP apart from dozens of other organizations in the libertarian movement." Fielder hopes that most LPers will want to contribute to the BAF. "Any monthly pledge will be appreciated—but the goal is a thousand monthly pledges of \$30. The Dollar Club. A dollar a day is small change compared to what we ask of our presidential nominees. They bear our standard, not merely their own."

"There are a lot of advantages inherent to an early start and an overall plan. I want teams of our best petitioners in the field now, knocking off one state at a time and then moving on to the next one. A lot of money can be wasted flying petitioners all over the country at the last minute to avert disaster."

"There are some who would rather leave the job to the state parties. Those I have talked to

soon realize, though, that if the LP misses the ballot in just one state, it hurts everywhere."

Fielder says that the BAF pledge program will be administered by volunteers in Washington, D.C. to ease the burden on national headquarters.

Libertarians should write their state legislators about unfair ballot laws, Fielder urged. "We tend to overlook the effectiveness of a determined lobbying effort on state legislatures." As an example of what can be done, Fielder points to Jack Aiken's remarkable success in the Georgia legislature. Aiken's efforts have led to passage of a law there which will reduce the number of signatures needed by 60 percent. The new law also lowers the requirements necessary to keep ballot status from election to election.

Dr. Peter Breggin has been named to oversee the BAF. Dr. Breggin, an at-large member of the LNC, is well-known in libertarian circles for his speaking and fundraising abilities. Other BAC members are Chad Calopy, LNC regional representative from Michigan, who will be helping with database management for the Fund's pledge program; Gary Johnson, former LNC regional representative from Texas and recent candidate for National Secretary in Phoenix; Jim Linger, an experienced election law attorney from Oklahoma; Richard Winger, election law consultant from California; and Nick Youngers, an experienced petitioner who has coordinated successful drives in Maryland, Massachusetts, and Ohio.

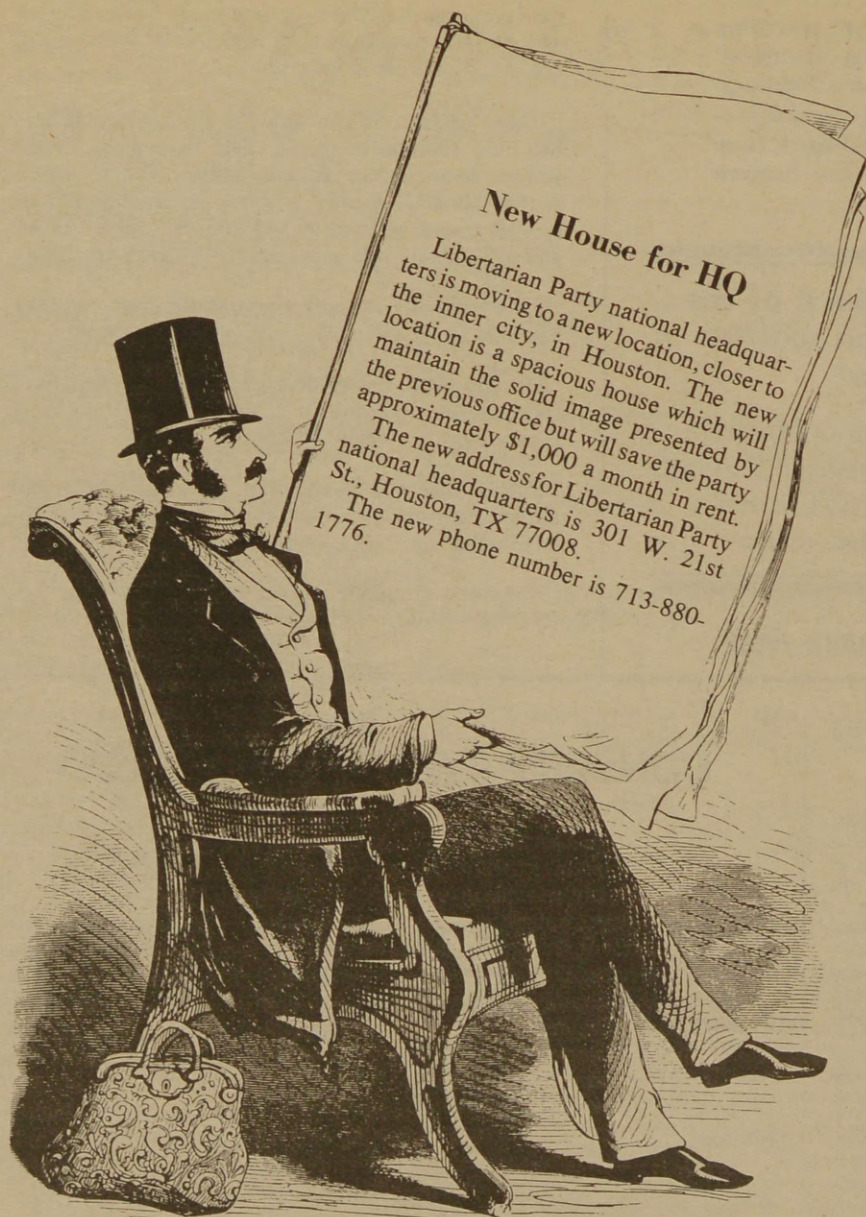
Contributions and pledges should be addressed to the Ballot Access Fund, 325 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., Drawer 315, Washington, D.C., 20003.

PLATFORM

Foreign Aid

We support the elimination of tax-supported military, economic, technical, and scientific aid to foreign governments or other organizations. We support the abolition of government underwriting of arms sales. We further support abolition of federal agencies that make American taxpayers guarantors of export-related loans, such as the Export-Import Bank and the Commodity Credit Corporation. We also oppose the participation of the U.S. Government in international commodity cartels which restrict production, limit technological innovation, and raise prices.

We call for the repeal of all prohibitions on individuals or firms contributing or selling goods and services to any foreign country or organization.



Chairman's Column

A Hidden Majority

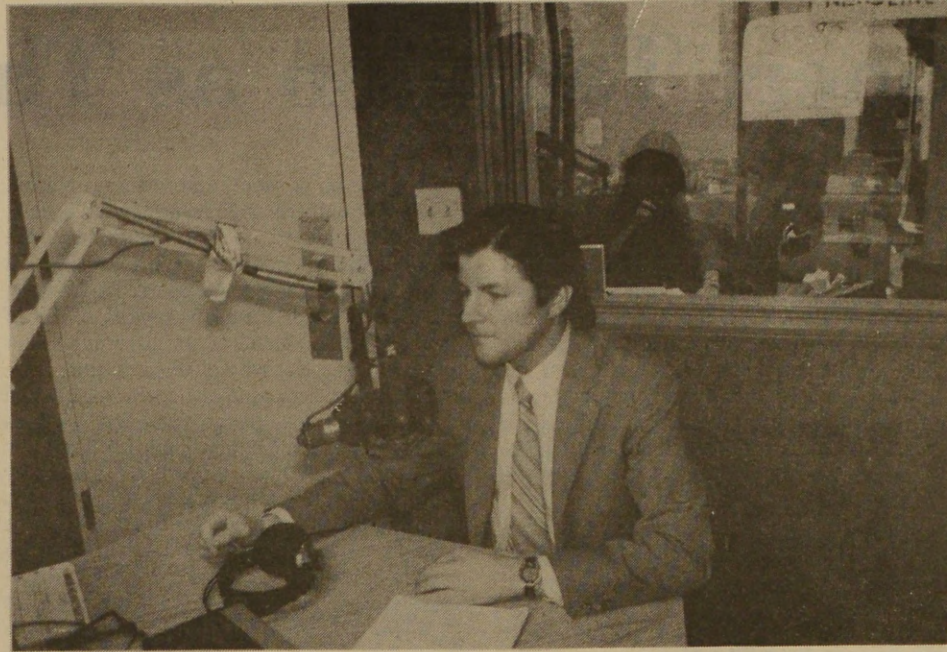
By Jim Turney

Are you a liberal or conservative?

How many times do each of us confront that choice? Most people seem to choose the only alternative they know of—"I'm not interested in politics." Usually that's not an exactly correct answer, but, it is true that most people don't want to be messing with others' lifestyles or dictating to others how they should use their hard earned wages. And most people want to be left alone by those who want control. But, everybody agrees that society should try to stop murder, assault, theft, and fraud.

The problem is, liberals want to control everybody's money and the conservatives want to control everybody's lifestyle. Twenty years and hundreds of billions of dollars since the liberals started the "War on Poverty," we have more people on the official poverty rolls as a hopelessly unemployed class. After years and more billions of dollars fighting drug use, the conservatives have only a shameful record of individual civil rights abuses and a record high of drug use to show for their effort. And who can forget Ronald Reagan's promise of a balanced budget by the end of his first term and his years of near hysterical criticism of Carter's deficit spending (which he has now more than doubled).

It's no wonder that few people want to be associated with either of these idealistic and power hungry factions. But, it is a shame that people feel excluded from influencing the powers that try to control their lives. Half of all eligible voters have never voted (Reagan won his "landslide" with less than 29 percent). Part of the reason this large



Jim Turney talked up the Party during a March interview on Orlando (FL) radio station WKIS.

group of citizens is not easily identifiable is that there has been no popular label to describe them. What do you call someone who wants lower and simplified taxes, deregulation, civil liberties, and a non-interventionist foreign policy? If the political polls are to be believed, there is a group like that which outnumbers the conservatives and liberals who claim to represent them.

"Libertarians" is the only name for this group that has enjoyed wide acceptance so far. This name usually describes "activists," but, if the government continues to interfere with the lives and incomes of people who are decent and productive citizens, there will be more and more people taking an active role in the political scene—and "libertarian" may describe most of them.

Chairman's Schedule

April-May

Illinois LP and LP National Committee, Chicago, April 5-6.
South Carolina LP, Columbia, April 11-12.
New York LP, Albany, April 12.
Pennsylvania LP, Philadelphia, April 13.
Barry Farber (radio) Show, New York City, April 14.
Freeland Conference, Orange County, CA, April 18-19.
Indiana LP, Indianapolis, April 26-27.
Cato Institute Conference, Washington, D.C., May 1.
Connecticut LP, New Haven, May 2-3.
North Carolina LP, Charlotte, May 4.
Florida LP, Tampa, May 24-25.
Free Zone Conference, Martinique, May 26-29.



Human Rights

We condemn the violation of human rights in all nations around the world. We particularly abhor the widespread and increasing use of torture for interrogation and punishment. We call upon all the world's governments to fully implement the principles and prescriptions contained in this platform and thereby usher in a new age of international harmony based upon the universal reign of liberty.

Until such a global triumph for liberty, we support both political and revolutionary actions by individuals and groups against governments that violate rights. We recognize the right of all people to resist tyranny and defend themselves and their rights. We condemn, however, the use of force, and especially the use of terrorism, against the innocent, regardless of whether such acts are committed by governments or by political and revolutionary groups.

The violation of rights and liberty by other governments can never justify intervention by the United States government. Today, no government is innocent of violating human rights and liberty, and none can approach the issue with clean hands. In keeping with our goal of peaceful international relations, we call upon the United States to cease its hypocrisy and its sully of the good name of human rights. Only private individuals and organizations have any place speaking out on this issue.

LIBERTARIAN INTERNATIONAL

Now A Libertarian Foreign Policy You Can Be A Part Of

In today's world of ICBMs, spy satellites, and an increasingly interdependent global economy, could a single libertarian homeland be safe and insulated?

Isn't a successful worldwide libertarian movement needed to really bring about global harmony?

We think that you will agree with us that the only real hope for peace and freedom lies in the establishment of growing pockets of libertarians in every corner of the world. This obviously is an incredibly huge task, but happily some groups are already in place, active and growing. Others may need encouragement and moral support to take the first step. This is our challenge—and we think you will all agree that the time to plant freedom's seeds is NOW.

A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

You can now join with fellow libertarians from the far corners of the world in an organization that has been striving diligently for the last five years to build the foundations of just such a movement. An organization endorsed by many leading libertarians and whose Advisory Board reads like a "who's who" of the movement since 1969.

A GROWING MOVEMENT

Since its founding in 1980, **Libertarian International's** network has spread to nearly 40 countries and our members have been actively benefiting from the growing exchange of valuable ideas and information through our *Free World Chronicle* magazine and our expanding computer data base files.

• **Libertarian International** has published books, and has sponsored or inspired translations of literature to spread libertarian ideas into other languages and cultures.

• **Libertarian International** has held successful world and regional conferences in Zurich, Switzerland; Brussels, Belgium; London, England; and in Beitostolen, Norway (north of Oslo). These events have stimulated significantly expanded activity and cooperation with overseas libertarian individuals and groups.

• **Libertarian International** is now building an Asian network through its new Pacific Council, and has just added new Regional Bases in Hong Kong, Greece, and Finland with others to come in Iceland and Pakistan. A South American initiative is also in the planning stages.

HOW CAN LI BENEFIT YOU?

As a member of **Libertarian International**, you will enjoy the following benefits:

- You will be kept abreast of developments in the fast-growing world libertarian movement through **Libertarian International's** bi-monthly *Free World Chronicle* magazine which provides:
 - Updates on libertarian events and activities here and abroad via our "Bulletin Board" column.
 - Debate and commentary by international members via our "Sounding Board" column.
 - Interesting and often humorous tidbits in our "World News" column.

• You will learn of strategies and tactics that libertarians have already used with success to influence events in their own countries—many of which you may find to be useful in your own efforts. You will also enjoy personal profiles and interviews with leading libertarian activists from around the world.

• You will be kept abreast of the fortunes of the Libertarian-oriented "Classical Liberal" political parties throughout Europe.

• You may also derive intellectual ammunition for your outreach efforts from our feature articles on contemporary world issues by leading libertarian authors.

So why wait any longer? Become a part of the ultimate libertarian "foreign policy" and join your fellow libertarians around the world in a growing, harmonious network—a libertarian "United Nations" so to speak—and help us work together towards eliminating the artificial boundaries and barriers that so hinder human progress on this planet.

Yes, I am interested in the many benefits of belonging to **Libertarian International**. Please find enclosed my check for

☐ \$20 (Regular) ☐ \$35 (Sustaining)
☐ \$100 (Supporting) Donation \$ _____

All levels of membership include a year's subscription to the *FREE WORLD CHRONICLE*. Sustaining and above receive a gold-plated gift "Liber-pin".

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Address _____

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As always, there's the opportunity to make lifetime friends with free spirits from all over the planet in the same exhilarating atmosphere of warmth and fellowship that has made all Libertarian International events truly memorable.

Convention package (includes hotel accommodations, 3 meals a day, banquets, all regularly scheduled events)—\$370 US

EARLY BIRD DISCOUNT (until June 30th)—\$350 US.

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9 S. Belmont Ave., Richmond, VA 23221

— a United Nations without the nations —

Spooner: Taxation as Theft

If there could be said to be a founding father of libertarianism in America, the title might well go to Lysander Spooner (1808-1887), the crusty Massachusetts lawyer who vigorously and constantly battled State infringement of individual liberty. Spooner was greatly influential in attacking the notion that slavery was constitutional. He also launched a private postal service which was so effective that it forced the government's monopoly to lower its rates and to increase its legislative barriers against competition. The excerpt from his writing presented here is a superb example of the libertarian spirit and, in particular, of the libertarian argument regarding taxation.

The ostensible supporters of the Constitution, like the ostensible supporters of most other governments, are made up of three classes, viz.: 1. Knaves, a numerous and active class, who see in the government an instrument which they can use for their own aggrandizement or wealth. 2. Dupes—a large class, no doubt—each of whom, because he is allowed one voice out of millions in deciding what he may do with his own person and his own property, and because he is permitted to have the same voice in robbing, enslaving, and murdering others, that others have in robbing, enslaving, and murdering himself, is stupid enough to imagine that he is a "free man," a "sovereign"; that his is "a free government"; "a government of equal rights," "the best government on earth," and such like absurdities. Suppose it be "the best government on earth," does that prove its own goodness, or only the badness of all other governments? 3. A class who have some appreciation of the evils of government, but either do not see how to get rid of them, or do not choose to so far sacrifice their private interests as to give themselves seriously and earnestly to the work of making a change.

The payment of taxes, being compulsory, of course furnishes no evidence that any one voluntarily supports the Constitution.

1. It is true that the theory of our Constitution is, that all taxes are paid voluntarily; that our government is a mutual insurance company, voluntarily entered into by the people with each other; that each man makes a free and purely voluntary contract with all others who are parties to the Constitution, to pay so much money for so much protection, the same as he does with any other insurance company; and that he is just as free not to be protected, and not to pay tax, as he is to pay a tax, and be protected.

But this theory of our government is wholly different from the practical fact. The fact is that the government, like a highwayman, says to a man: "Your money, or your life." And many, if not most, taxes are paid under the compulsion of that threat.

The government does not, indeed, waylay a man in a lonely place, spring upon him from the roadside, and, holding a pistol to his head, proceed to rifle his pockets. But the robbery is none the less a robbery on that account; and it is far more dastardly and shameful.

The highwayman takes solely upon himself the responsibility, danger, and crime of his own act. He does not pretend that he has any rightful claim to your money, or that he intends to use it for your own benefit. He does not pretend to be anything but a robber. He has not acquired impudence enough to profess to be merely a "protector," and that he takes men's money against their will, merely to enable him to "protect" those infatuated travellers, who feel perfectly able to protect themselves, or do not appreciate his peculiar system of protection. He is too sensible a man to make such professions as these. Furthermore, having taken your money, he leaves you, as you wish him to do. He does not persist in following you on the road, against your will; assuming to be your rightful "sovereign," on account of the "protection" he affords you. He does not keep

"protecting" you, by commanding you to bow down and serve him; by requiring you to do this, and forbidding you to do that; by robbing you of more money as often as he finds it for his interest or pleasure to do so; and by branding you as a rebel, a traitor, and an enemy to your country, and shooting you down without mercy if you dispute his authority, or resist his demands. He is too much of a gentleman to be guilty of such impostures, and insults, and villainies as these. In short, he does not, in addition to robbing you, attempt to make you either his dupe or his slave.

The proceedings of those robbers and murderers, who call themselves "the government," are directly the opposite of these of the single highwayman.

In the first place, they do not, like him, make themselves individually known; or, consequently, take upon themselves personally the responsibility of their acts. On the contrary, they secretly (by secret ballot) designate some one of their number to commit the robbery in their behalf, while they keep themselves practically concealed. They say to the person thus designated:

Go to A..... B....., and say to him that "the government" has need of money to meet the expenses of protecting him and his property. If he presumes to say that he has never contracted with us to protect him, and that he wants none of our protection, say to him that that is our business, and not his; that we choose to protect him, whether he desires us to do so or not; and that we demand pay, too, for protecting him. If he dares to inquire who the individuals are who have thus taken upon themselves the title of "the government," and who assume to protect him, and demand payment of him, without his having ever made any contract with them, say to him that that, too, is our business, and not his; that we do not choose to make ourselves individually known to him; that we have secretly (by secret ballot) appointed you our agent to give him notice of our demands, and, if he complies with them, to give him, in our name, a receipt that will protect him against any similar demand for the present year. If he refuses to comply, seize and sell enough of his property to pay not only our demands, but all your own expenses and trouble beside. If he resists the seizure of his property, call upon the bystanders to help you (doubtless some of them will prove to be members of our band). If, in defending his property, he should kill any of our band who are assisting you, capture him at all hazards; charge him (in our courts) with murder; convict him, and hang him. If he should call upon his neighbors, or any others who, like him, may be disposed to resist our demands, and they should come in large numbers to his assistance, cry out that they are all rebels and traitors; that "our country" is in danger; call upon the commander of our hired murderers; tell him to quell the rebellion and "save the country," cost what it may. Tell him to kill all who resist, though they should be hundreds of thousands; and thus strike terror into all others similarly disposed. See that the work of murder is thoroughly done; that we may have no further trouble of this kind hereafter. When these traitors shall have thus been taught our strength and our determination, they will be good loyal citizens for many years, and pay their taxes without a why or a wherefore.

It is under such compulsion as this that taxes, so called, are paid. And how much proof the payment of taxes affords, that the people consent to support "the government," it needs no further argument to show.

2. Still another reason why the payment of taxes implies no consent, or pledge, to support the government, is that the taxpayer does not know, and has no means of knowing, who the particular individuals are who compose "the government." To him "the government" is a myth, an abstraction, an incorporeality, with which he can make no contract, and to which

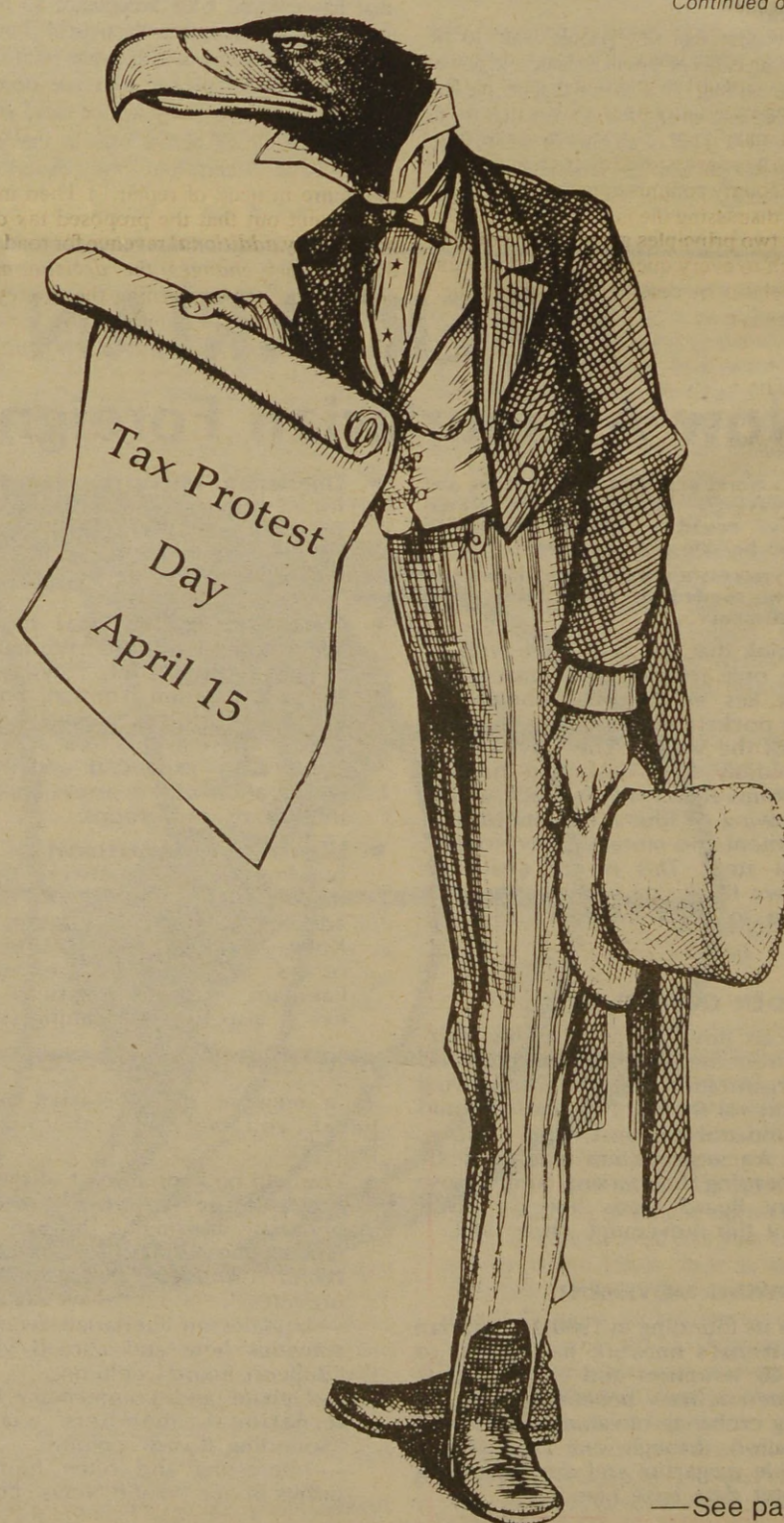
he can give no consent, and make no pledge. He knows it only through its pretended agents. "The government" itself he never sees. He knows indeed, by common report, that certain persons, of a certain age, are permitted to vote; and thus to make themselves parts of, or (if they choose) opponents of, the government, for the time being. But who of them do thus vote, and especially how each one votes (whether so as to aid or oppose the government), he does not know; the voting being all done secretly (by secret ballot). Who, therefore, practically compose "the government," for the time being, he has no means of knowing. Of course he can make no contract with them, give them no consent, and make them no pledge. Of necessity, therefore, his paying taxes to them implies on his part, no contract, consent, or pledge to support them—that is, to support "the government," or the Constitution.

3. Not knowing who the particular individuals are, who call themselves "the government," the taxpayer does not know whom he pays his taxes to. All he knows is that a man comes to him, representing himself to be the agent of "the government"—that is, the agent of a secret band of robbers and murderers, who have taken to themselves the title of "the government," and have determined to kill everybody who refuses to give them whatever

money they demand. To save his life, he gives up his money to this agent. But as this agent does not make his principals individually known to the taxpayer, the latter, after he has given up his money, knows no more who are "the government"—that is, who were the robbers—than he did before. To say, therefore, that by giving up his money to their agent, he entered into a voluntary contract with them, that he pledges himself to obey them, to support them, and to give them whatever money they should demand of him in the future, is simply ridiculous.

4. All political power, as it is called, rests practically upon this matter of money. Any number of scoundrels, having money enough to start with, can establish themselves as a "government"; because, with money, they can hire soldiers, and with soldiers extort more money; and also compel general obedience to their will. It is with government, as Caesar said it was in war, that money and soldiers mutually supported each other; that with money he could hire soldiers, and with soldiers extort money. So these villains, who call themselves governments, well understand that their power rests primarily upon money. With money they can hire soldiers, and with soldiers extort money. And, when their authority is denied, the first use they always make of money, is to hire

Continued on Page 15



—See page 15



Taxes Are the Issue

By Tonie Nathan

Political advisors often talk about the necessity for candidates to emphasize "bread and butter" issues. In layman's language, they mean they want their candidates to deal with issues that affect their constituents' pocket-books and well-being—those issues that affect voters personally. There is no issue that better fills that requirement than a tax issue.

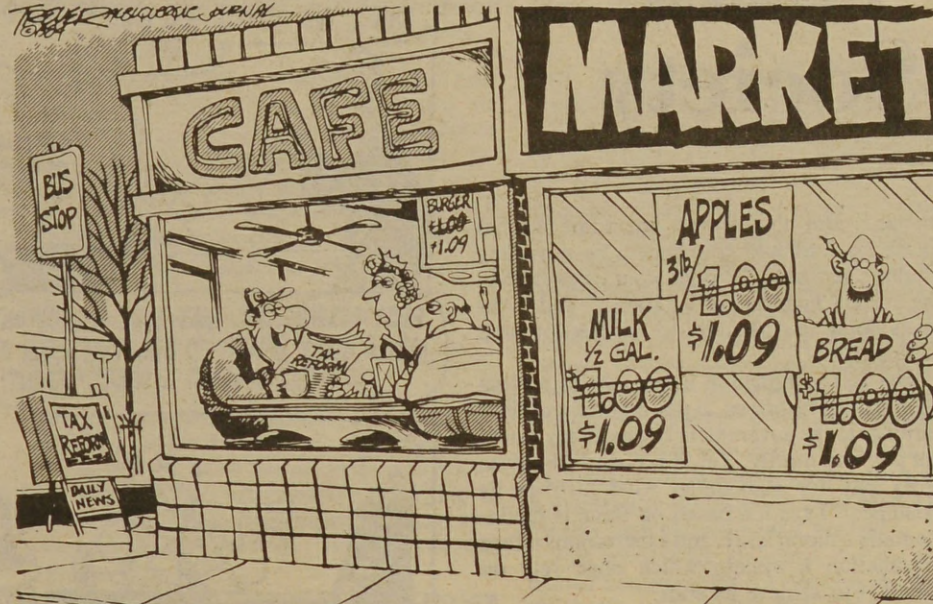
We libertarians need to reach as many voters as possible. However, except under unusual circumstances, we are unlikely to capture voters' attention with discussions of special interest legislation such as women's rights, gun control, drug laws, etc. Only tax laws affect almost every special interest group sufficiently to capture its attention. From the minimum wage earner to the corporation president, from gay rights groups to gun lobbyists, taxes are a concern. For this reason, it is important for potential libertarian candidates to give careful and serious thought to how to handle tax issues.

I have campaigned four times. I think I have learned a lot, sometimes by trial and error, about being effective in stating my ideas. Campaigning nationally as the LP's first vice presidential candidate, then on a statewide level, then in a congressional district, and door-to-door in a county commissioner race, I honed my skills in discussing the issues. Increasingly I found that two principles stand out in guiding my approach to every question and have been the most helpful in dealing with any issue, including tax issues:

- On any issue, start where they are and lead them to where you are.
- Ask yourself how you can solve the problem presented without using government or public funds.

When discussing a tax measure, decide if the net effect of the measure will be to increase government revenue. If it is, we libertarians must oppose it, even though the proposed tax is for attractive and necessary programs such as economic development, new libraries, school improvements, roads, parks, etc.

Using my first principle, a candidate can usually agree that the program is necessary or worthwhile. ("Yes, I agree with you that our



"THIS NEW TAX PLAN SOUNDS PRETTY GOOD... WE GET A 9% CUT AND BUSINESS PICKS UP THE BURDEN...."

roads are in need of repair.") Then immediately point out that the proposed tax doesn't provide any *additional* revenue for road repair; the tax just *changes the decision-making power*. The person earning the money gives up his/her right to decide how or where his/her money will be spent and turns that power over to a bureaucrat.

I cannot overstate the above point. If you can persuade your listeners to recognize that taxes do not add to the wealth of the nation but instead *deplete* its wealth, you will be changing viewpoints in a very fundamental way. For some reason, most people act as if government has a separate source of money which only has to be doled out to the right people for the right things. We need to point out continually that all the nation's wealth is created in the private sector and that the more funds are removed from the private sector to the public sector, the less wealth is created for use by anyone—including government. Most people know this, but don't like to admit it, possibly because they fear losing their place at the public trough.

The next question is sure to be, "But if this tax should be defeated, who will repair the road?" Or "who will pay for education?" Or "...?" Here is where you use the second principle.

I usually state the principle first by saying that we libertarians know, as most people do, that government is very inefficient and wasteful in providing any kind of service, so we like to find ways to solve social problems without resorting to taxing the public. I would then qualify my remarks by stating that, although we libertarians oppose all taxes in principle, being reasonable people, we don't expect government to privatize everything overnight. So we try to find ways of reducing taxes by providing alternative solutions.

At this point you must have some good examples of private road building, private planning, private education, on hand. (See "Fiscal Watchdog," 1018 Garden St., Santa Barbara, CA 93101, for many useful references.) But don't be afraid to come up with your own creative solutions. ("After all, people who use the road want it in good repair, don't they? Perhaps the property owners along the road-

way could get together and hire a road repair crew. That's all the government does anyway; it solicits bids. The problem is that many times the repair contracts are awarded as political favors to contractors who satisfy only the bureaucrats, not us. Wouldn't taxpayers be better off making their own spending decisions?")

You'll notice I ask lots of rhetorical questions. It stimulates the questioner to consider my argument. Many times I am amazed at the affirmative responses I get in the form of stories about waste and inefficiency. I always pull out a notebook and take these down to use at subsequent meetings with the permission of the storyteller. It is flattering to the storyteller and useful to me.

Some tax issues are not tax increases, but rather tax switches. A sales tax is increased to reduce an income tax or property tax. Or a tax can be distributed or levied in new or different ways. Libertarians may differ on the approval or disapproval of such tax proposals, but if the net effect of such a proposal is more equitable and lessens the cost and extent of the tax, I believe it is possible to support it. However, one should be sure that a new bureaucracy is not being created and that the overall effect of the proposal is either less tax or less control. I must confess I have yet to find such a tax proposal (with the possible exception of a flat tax). All tax switch proposals I have encountered increase the power or the cost of government or lessen an individual's control over his/her income.

While most Libertarian Party candidates have their own approaches to tax issues, I think it is important to constantly reiterate the aforementioned argument that any increase in government revenue is produced by a transfer of money from the productive private sector into the non-productive public sector. *No new money is being created*, but the less money the private sector has, the less it can invest to produce goods, jobs, and services, and the more control the government has over all of us. Further, the cost involved in collecting and redistributing taxes reduces the amount of funding available for the particular program for which the tax was designed.

In short, taxes do not provide anything that

cannot be provided better and less expensively, without coercion, in the private sector. The constant reiteration of this point avoids discussing the tax measure itself and there is no reason why it should be discussed. No matter what it proposes to do, or how it proposes to do it, any tax measure can be opposed by the above arguments alone.

It is tempting to take the position of tax resisters who remind us that the best way of doing away with government excesses is not to fund government. However, this is an argument for libertarians, and is not calculated to win votes from those who are still striving to pay their "fair share" for services they deem desirable and who regard tax resisters as "cheaters."

Put yourself on the side of those who sincerely desire better roads, schools, and health care and then show them how to obtain their goals without tax levies. Thanks to numerous libertarian writers, periodicals, and books, there is now an increasing acceptance of privatization as a way of supplanting new tax and bond proposals. Discussing such libertarian solutions to tax issues will enable our candidates to provide hope and encouragement to an overtaxed populace.

Tonie Nathan, former national LP candidate for Vice President of the United States, was the first woman to receive an electoral college vote. She is a freelance writer who is active in the politics of Lane County, OR.



Taxation

Since we believe all persons are entitled to keep the fruits of their labor, we oppose all government activity that consists of the forcible collection of money or goods from individuals in violation of their individual rights. Specifically, we:

- recognize the right of any individual to challenge the payment of taxes on moral, religious, legal, or constitutional grounds;
- oppose all personal and corporate income taxation, including capital gains taxes;
- support repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment, and oppose any increase in existing tax rates and the imposition of any new taxes;
- support the eventual repeal of all taxation; and
- support a declaration of unconditional amnesty for all those who have been convicted of, or who now stand accused of, tax resistance.

As an interim measure, all criminal and civil sanctions against tax evasion should be terminated immediately.

We oppose as involuntary servitude any legal requirements forcing employers or business owners to serve as tax collectors for federal, state, or local tax agencies.

In the current fiscal crisis of states and localities, default is preferable to raising taxes or perpetual refinancing of growing public debt.

Tax, Tax, Tax

Now he's a common, common man,
Tax him tax him all you can.
Tax his house and tax his bed,
Tax the bald spot on his head.
Tax his bread and tax his meat,
Tax his shoes clear off his feet.
Tax his 'Henry' and tax his gas,
Tax the road that he must pass.
Tax the farmer, tax his fowl,
Tax the dog and tax his howl.
Tax his plow and tax his clothes,
Tax the rags that wipe his nose.
Tax his pig and tax his squeal,
Tax his boots run down at the heel.
Tax his cow and tax his calf,
Tax him if he dares to laugh.
Tax his barns and tax his lands,
Tax the blisters on his hands.
Tax the water and tax the air,
Tax the sunshine if you dare.
Tax the living, tax the dead,
Tax the unborn before they're fed.
Tax them all and tax them well,
And do your best to make life hell.



Position Paper

Untangling Taxes For a Free Society

By Chris Hocker

Between 40 and 50 percent of the average American's earnings are taken by government each year in taxes. The exact percentage is difficult to calculate because of the many "hidden" taxes that abound, but the overall effect is clear: We spend nearly half our lives working for the government. Each year, "Tax Freedom Day"—the day when our "obligation" to government is theoretically paid off—comes later and later. It now falls well into May.

Taxation has been an important political issue since before the American Revolution, and it played a key part in the 1980 presidential election that brought Ronald Reagan to office. Reagan's oft-repeated promises to "get government off our backs" was aimed primarily at federal taxes, leading many voters to expect significant tax cuts with Reagan's inauguration. Indeed, during the first two years of the Reagan administration, we heard much about tax cuts—yet these proved to be merely reductions in projected *increases* and in any case were more than offset for average Americans by increases in Social Security taxes and the effects of inflation. Now, to top it off, Reagan has pushed through the largest tax increase in history.

Most Americans, while perhaps grateful that taxes aren't any higher, would agree that taxes are too high. At the same time, however, they would probably agree that taxes are inevitable and that there's little we can do about them. Libertarians certainly agree with the first statement: Taxes *are* too high. But we would disagree with the second part, believing instead that taxes at all levels can and in fact *must* be reduced drastically. But achieving this requires an analysis of what taxation *is* and how taxes have increased to their current high levels.

What Is Taxation?

Every year, around April 15, Americans are treated to the sound of government officials intoning about America's "voluntary" system of taxation. Yet everyone knows that the income tax isn't voluntary at all, except in the sense that most people choose to pay rather than go to jail. Paying taxes is about as "voluntary" as giving a gunman all your money rather than allowing him to shoot you.

There is no escaping the reality that all taxes are paid under threat of force. Even those, such as the sales tax, which apply only if we choose to buy a certain item, are fundamentally based on coercion for we cannot choose to buy the item and not pay the tax. In return for failure to pay taxes—or even suspected failure—agents of the government can and will violate your privacy, seize and sell your property, and jail you.

Traditional politicians will sometimes go to great lengths to rationalize the nature of taxation, even to the point of inventing new terms for it. For instance, early in the Reagan administration, one particularly inventive official labeled certain proposed new taxes as "revenue enhancements."

A more sophisticated justification for coercive taxation is the oft-heard statement, "Taxes are what members of a society pay in return for all the services government provides

for us." But this leaves out some crucial questions: "Should government be providing all these services?," "Does what we get justify the current high rate of taxation?," and "Are taxes doing fatal damage to our freedom and prosperity?"

The last justification is the admission that people must be forced to pay a portion of their earnings to the government because they would not pay voluntarily. Yet, if no one will voluntarily pay for something, what justifies its existence? Taxation based on force is fundamentally a moral issue, and Libertarians refuse to sanction a system which must rely on coercion to achieve its ends.

Why Taxes Get Higher

Many of the issues which sparked the American Revolution were related to taxes which would seem totally insignificant by today's standards. The Stamp Act and the tea tax generated hatred and resentment of British rule but involved only a few pennies each. The federal income tax, which passed in 1913, was never envisioned to exceed 10 percent of an individual's income. Many excise taxes im-

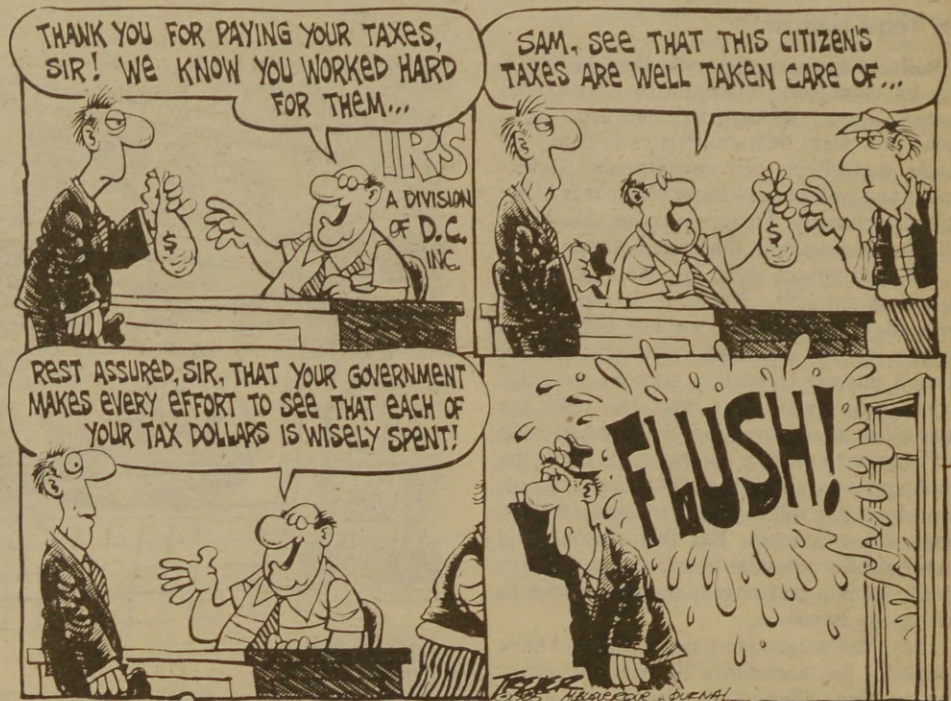
Arbitrary taxation is plunder authorized by law: it is the support and the essence of tyranny, and has done more mischief to mankind than the other three scourges from Heaven—famine, pestilence and the sword.
—The Maryland Gazette, 1774

posed during World War II as "emergency" measures remain with us, as does the federal withholding tax, another "emergency" measure. Clearly taxes, once imposed, are extremely difficult to reduce or abolish. It appears that they will, by their nature, always increase.

Of course, taxes have no will of their own. They are imposed, maintained, and increased *by people*—specifically, elected officials with considerable help from appointed administrators and regulators. These people, in turn, are often responding to political pressure from interest groups—pressure which is usually more intense than any counter-pressure from taxpayers.

Imagine a special interest group lobbying Congress to pass a \$100 million subsidy for its industry. A majority of Congress believes it is in the "national interest" and passes it. The net effect on the taxpayer is only a fraction of a dollar per year, much less than it would cost them to actively oppose the bill. Therefore, most taxpayers don't bother to exert counter-pressure. Chances are they don't even know about the subsidy. They merely pay for it.

When you multiply this process by the hundreds of special interests that lobby Congress, state legislatures, and local governing bodies each year for subsidies, programs, loans, or contracts, it's easy to see how taxes get so high. It's not primarily because of one *big* program, but rather because of thousands of relatively inconsequential programs which cost us each only a few pennies separately but



together add up to thousands of dollars. Note that the special interests are not competing for consumers' dollars as businesses would in a market economy; instead, they are competing for taxpayers' dollars through manipulation of political power. In a free market, consumers have a choice of what to buy or whether to buy at all. But in a system where the only real currency is political power, taxpayers have little choice. Libertarians believe that people should have the right to spend their own money, and that political pressure from special interest groups should play no role.

There is always, of course, one special interest that always gets its share of your money—the government itself. Taxes are the lifeblood of government's ability to control. Taxation means power—and power, once obtained, is difficult to give up. Thus we have seen a burgeoning, self-perpetuating bureaucracy grow up over the past few decades, and the creation of a new class of administrators, regulators, and policy-makers, whose very existence depends on their ability to tax. As taxes climb still higher, this class of "net tax-consumers"—those who benefit more from taxes than they pay—are at odds with "net taxpayers."

Of course, there *are* categories in the federal budget that are massively expensive on their own. The interest alone on the national debt is over \$100 billion per year.

Another huge expense is the nation's military apparatus, most of which is not directed to actually defending the U.S.

Libertarians believe the policies behind such budget categories are inconsistent with a society of freedom, prosperity, and peace. Therefore, the issue of taxation is integrally related to all other issues of government policy. Ultimately, we must be willing to cut spending if we wish to cut taxes, and this requires that we ask fundamental questions about what government does with our money.

The Effects of Taxation

All taxation is redistributive in effect. The government takes wealth from those who produce it and gives it to itself or its beneficiaries. Dollars that could have gone into savings, investment, or the purchase of consumer goods have now been redirected toward other pur-

poses—with a substantial percentage taken off the top for administering the redistribution. All levels of taxation have this effect, but high levels are particularly injurious to individuals and the economy as a whole.

It is often politically popular to levy special taxes on corporations, as if these entities

If taxes are laid upon us without our having a legal representation where they are laid, we are reduced from the character of free subjects to the state of tributary slaves.

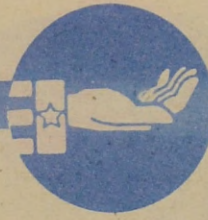
—Sam Adams, 1764

existed totally apart from the individuals who work for them, manage them, or invest in them. Since most corporations are just small businesses, these taxes are particularly harsh. Income taxes on all corporations, large or small, actually constitute *double* taxation, because not only are the profits taxed, but they are taxed again when they go to the individual investors as dividends. Taxing businesses heavily is often politically popular because most voters never actually see the taxes, but they assuredly feel them if the business raises its prices or goes out of operation entirely.

In addition, the personal income tax, despite a sea of rhetoric, continues to rise for most Americans. Even with the Reagan "cuts," income tax levels have increased due to "bracket creep," the process whereby those whose income increases to match inflation must pay a higher *rate*, even though their purchasing power hasn't increased. This, and the Social Security tax hikes, means that Reagan's "cuts" haven't been cuts at all.

Obviously harmful effects result from other taxes. The inheritance tax often forces families to sell small businesses or family farms because they cannot afford to pay the taxes on them. The sales tax forces lower-income people to stretch their incomes to pay for basic necessities. Import duties and tariffs raise the price of imported goods to consumers and create obstacles to free trade and peaceful relations with other countries. Excise taxes penalize consumers for buying certain items

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Voices of Liberty

Kellems: A Rebel with a Cause

One of the heroines of American liberty is Vivien Kellems who died in 1975. From an initial investment of \$1,000, she built a substantial company devoted to manufacturing an industrial cable grip invented by her brother. In 1944 she led a business revolt against taxes by refusing to pay the final quarterly installment on her own taxes and by urging others in business to follow her example. The government quickly beat down the revolt but not her spirit.

In 1947, along with a hundred other women, she demonstrated against a law barring women from working in industry between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. The law was repealed.

Next came her most heroic stand against government oppression. In 1948 she refused to withhold taxes from the wages of her employees claiming, among other things, that the tax laws made her a conscript tax collector, a slave of the government. The IRS forced her bank to pay the tax bill from her account. In retaliation she began to pay her employees in cash at one window, and then had them pay out their taxes at the next window so that they would be sharply aware of what government was taking from them. She also battled zoning laws, moving her factory when hemmed in by them.

Here, from her political autobiography, are her comments on taxation and tax resistance, comments as cogent for our time as they were for hers.

For one hundred and twenty-five years, the Federal Government had levied taxes and they were always apportioned among the several States. Why do you suppose the Constitution is so specific and so explicit that Federal taxes shall be uniform and apportioned among the States? For one reason only. Our forefathers were determined to build a republic, with equal opportunity and equal responsibility for each and every one of us. They knew that the power to tax is the power to destroy, and they did not wish to have one group of citizens, or one part of the country penalized for the unfair advantage of another.

How wise and farsighted they were! For one hundred and twenty-five years this was our traditional, constitutional system of taxation, and under it we built the richest, most powerful nation in the world. We developed and maintained for the majority of our people, a standard of living, undreamed of in any other country, the hope and envy of all the world.

And then what happened? We chucked our proved system of taxation out the window, and in 1913 we passed the income tax. Gone was our uniformity, gone was our apportionment among the States. And with uniformity and apportionment went a great deal more—our fundamental American rights...

Let us go back to our Fourth and Fifth Amendments: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated..." and "...no person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

These two Amendments insured to the citizens of the United States the right of *privacy*. It was ours in every sense, until the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment, but with the income tax, we lost this precious right. If I say, "No," you cannot come into my house without a search warrant, and before you can secure such

a warrant, you must advance good and sufficient cause for searching my house. But the Income Tax Inspector can come into my home or yours. In the name of the Income Tax, the Federal Government can search and seize every paper you own, it can force you into court, to be a witness against yourself, and if you are not able to pay the tax, it can sell you out, lock, stock and barrel. The Income Tax is the strongest weapon ever placed in the hands of an unscrupulous government, and as long as that Amendment is a part of our Constitution, our freedom is in jeopardy. Our right to privacy, so carefully insured to us by the Fourth and Fifth Amendments, has vanished... We appointed ourselves so many policemen and with this club in our hands, we set out to collect a tax from every hapless individual who received wages from us. We became our "brother's keeper"...

The most un-American phrase in our modern vocabulary is "take home pay." What do we mean, "take home pay"? When I hire a man to work for me we discuss three things: the job to be done, the hours he shall work, and the wages he shall receive. And on Friday when he receives that pay envelope, we have both fulfilled our contract for that week. There is no further obligation on either side. The money in that envelope belongs to him. He has worked for it and he has earned it. No one, not even the United States Government, has the right to

Be taxed, or not be taxed; that is the question. Whether 'tis nobler in our minds to suffer The flights and cunning of deceitful statesmen, Or to petition 'gainst illegal taxes, And by opposing end them.

—The Massachusetts Spy, 1770

touch it. Who dares to lay profane hands upon that money, to rudely filch from that free man the fruits of his labor, even before the money is in his own hands. This is a monstrous invasion of the rights of a free people and an outrageous perversion of the spirit of the Constitution...

The employer or professional man, not on a salary, is allowed a bit of time in which to prepare his accounting and pay his tax. But from the salaried worker or wage earner that pay envelope is rudely snatched from the paymaster's hand and those taxes taken in advance out of today's butter or tomorrow's hospital bill. This withholding law has made a greedy, avaricious monster out of the Federal Tax Grabber and an unwilling Simon Legree out of the wretched employer forced to do his dirty work for him.

Many otherwise patriotic citizens have lent themselves to this system because they mistakenly believed that it would create greater tax consciousness and a sentiment for economy in our Federal expenditures. Even if this were true, the system is still wrong. Shall we compromise our fundamental American principles for expediency? The majority of workers today figure their wages by the money in that pay envelope. And so they should. That 20 per cent is disregarded completely—it has been shifted to the shoulders of the employers and is nothing more or less than a 20 per cent payroll tax which is added to the price of every manufactured article. Labor doesn't need a raise. All labor needs is to get what labor earns. Lop off that 20 per cent payroll tax, labor will have its

raise, and the inflationary spiral will take a sharp dip down. It's as simple as that.

And how about the millions of dollars spent by employers every year in collecting that tax? If it costs my little company as much as it does to deduct, withhold and pay that tax, what must it cost a big company such as General Motors? Why should we bear this additional expense? The Government gets the tax, doesn't it? Well then, how about the Government paying for collecting it? I have searched the Constitution through and can find no power or right granted to the Federal Government for this mass picking of the pockets of the American people.

The very men who shout the loudest against the demands of the Union for the checkoff have connived and conspired with the New Dealers for this vast *Government Checkoff*.

Just how far are we going? Are we going to deduct contributions for the church, dues for the lodge, money for the grocery bill, the electric light and coal bill? Shall we buy clothes for the children and pay tuition for their schooling? Once having started, where do we stop? If this is Russia, then let's say so. Let's just hand the worker an envelope full of coupons at the end of each week and call it a day!...

I do not exercise other duties, responsibilities and privileges of citizenship for my employees. I do not vote for them. I do not form political opinions for them, I do not select a church for them, I do not pay real estate taxes for them. They are all free American citizens, thoroughly capable of performing all of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship for themselves...

As in the life of each individual there occasionally comes a moment of grave decision, so in the life of a free nation comes a significant moment, fraught with fearful consequences. We have reached such a moment in our development. Free people preserve their freedom and rid themselves of tyranny only by resistance and by breaking the law. We have a country because our forefathers defied a tyrant and broke the law. They broke tax laws. Rather than pay a tax they threw the tea into the harbor. They refused to pay a stamp tax. They poured their whisky down the drain rather than pay a tax on it. An American is aroused indeed, when he will sacrifice his liquor! Every man who signed the Declaration of Independence was a lawbreaker and a rebel. He broke the law, but he founded a nation. Thousands of patriotic American men and women spirited Negro slaves across the Canadian border. They broke the law but they freed a race. Thoreau, one of our most revered and honored philosophers, refused to pay a tax and went to prison. He broke the law but he saved his honor, and while in prison, he wrote the immortal document "Civil Disobedience." It was the reading of "Civil Disobedience" which determined the whole course of Gandhi's life. Brave American women suffered humiliation and imprisonment when they dared to defy the Government. They broke the law but they won the vote and freedom for their sex.

One night in the spring of 1947, a group of courageous women, about one hundred of them, gathered in my shop in Westport and at ten o'clock went to work. We were free American citizens prohibited by law from working after ten o'clock at night and before six in the morning. We broke the law but we gave back to the women of Connecticut their consti-

tutional right to work when they please.

Did you ever break the prohibition law? Ever make any bathtub gin? Ever get a ticket for speeding? What is the difference between breaking the speed law and breaking the income tax law? A lot. For one you get slapped on the wrist with a small fine; for the other you get slapped in the jug with a big fine. The penalties should be reversed. Speeding may mean loss of life but cheating on the income tax means only loss of money. However, the New Deal has always valued American money more than American lives, although it has spent both with impunity.

Unjust and tyrannical laws always breed contempt and evasion. Just as millions of Americans made, and sold, and drank liquor under Prohibition, so today millions of Americans are lying, and cheating, and evading the income tax. It is no more possible to enforce the income tax law than it was to enforce the prohibition law. We couldn't plug those liquor leaks and we can't plug these tax leaks. We are losing billions of dollars in unpaid taxes and the basis of business is rapidly shifting from credit to cash. Everything from apartment houses to fur coats is being sold for cash. We have become a nation of tax collectors, tax evaders and craven cowards. So, he who is without sin, let him cast the first stone...

How much longer are we going to take it? Is there no more good, old-fashioned American

And we shall also free ourselves from those unmannerly pillagers who impudently tell us, that they are licensed by an act of Parliament to thrust their dirty hands into the pockets of every American.

—John Hancock, 1774

courage, or have we become a nation of spineless jellyfish? Are we worthy of the sacrifices of our forefathers or are we the silly suckers the rest of the world thinks us? There is no time to lose. We must strike now. *We are the Government*. We, the people, are still the strongest thing in our country and we can still get what we want. We just have to want it hard enough. We have fought and won a global war to free the whole world and have succeeded only in bringing chaos and misery to that world and in making tax slaves of ourselves.

So let's repeal the income tax. You think it can't be done? If we left it to you men, it couldn't. But I'll tell you what's going to happen. We women are going to repeal it. We got you out of that prohibition mess, didn't we? Well, we'll dig you out of this one. But I want to remind you that we didn't vote for either one—they were both exclusively your ideas. So we'll get you out once more but for goodness' sake, the next time you get such a brain wave, will you please tell us so we can stop you in time!

You see we women have more to lose in this situation than you men, we own most of the assets of the country. Approximately 70 or 80 per cent of the wealth of the United States is in our little, lily-white hands, and if you dear, sweet men don't start taking care of yourselves, we'll soon own it all. You work yourselves to the bone and along about forty or fifty, you pop off with heart disease. And not content with that, ever so often you have a war and stand up and shoot each other. Just keep this up and it

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Voices of Liberty

Crockett: A Lesson in Public Spending

The legend of Davy Crockett is well known to all Americans. He has been celebrated in books, songs, movies, and television shows as a frontiersman, Indian fighter, and hero at the Alamo.

Crockett was also a three-term congressman in the United States House of Representatives.

The following account shows it was as easy for Congress to indiscriminately spend taxpayers' money in Crockett's time as it is today. It also shows that sometimes one man can make a difference.

The following account was written by a newspaperman covering Congress during Crockett's time.

I was one day in the lobby of the House of Representatives when a bill was taken up appropriating money for the benefit of a widow of a distinguished naval officer. Several beautiful speeches had been made in its support, rather, as I thought, because it afforded the speakers a fine opportunity for display than from the necessity of convincing anybody, for it seemed to me that everybody favored it. The Speaker was just about to put the question, when Crockett arose. Everybody expected, of course, that he was going to make one of his characteristic speeches in support of the bill. He commenced:

"Mr. Speaker—I have as much respect for the memory of the deceased, and as much sympathy for the sufferings of the living, if

suffering there be, as any man in this House, but we must not permit our respect for the dead or our sympathy for a part of the living to lead us into an act of injustice to the balance of the living. I will not go into an argument to prove that Congress has no power to appropriate this money as an act of charity. Every member upon this floor knows it. We have the right, as individuals, to give away as much of our own money as we please in charity; but as members of Congress we have no right so to appropriate a dollar of the public money. Some eloquent appeals have been made to us upon the ground that it is a debt due the deceased. Mr. Speaker, the deceased lived long after the close of the war; he was in office to the day of his death, and I have never heard the Government was in arrears to him. This Government can owe no debts but for services rendered, and at a stipulated price. If it is a debt, how much is it? Has it been audited, and the amount due ascertained? If it is a debt, this is not the place to present it for payment, or to have its merits examined. If it is a debt, we owe more than we can ever hope to pay, for we owe the widow of every soldier who fought in the war of 1812 precisely the same amount. There is a woman in my neighborhood, the widow of as gallant a man as ever shouldered a musket. He fell in battle. She is as good in every respect as this lady, and is as poor. She is earning her daily bread by her daily labor, and if I were to

introduce a bill to appropriate five or ten thousand dollars for her benefit, I should be laughed at, and my bill would not get five votes in this House. There are thousands of widows in the country just such as the one I have spoken of; but we never hear of any of these large debts to them. Sir, this is no debt. The Government did not owe it to the deceased when he was alive; it could not contract it after he died. I do not wish to be rude, but I must be plain. Every man in this House knows this is not a debt. We cannot, without the grossest corruption, appropriate this money as the payment of a debt. We have not the semblance of authority to appropriate it as a charity. Mr. Speaker, I have said we have the right to give as much money of our own as we please. I am the poorest man on this floor. I cannot vote for this bill, but I will give one week's pay to the object, and if every member of Congress will do the same, it will amount to more than the bill asks."

He took his seat. Nobody replied. The bill was put upon its passage, and instead of passing unanimously, as was generally supposed, and as, no doubt, it would, but for that speech, it received but few votes, and, of course, was lost.

Reprinted from Life and Adventures of David Crockett, by Edward S. Ellis, 1862.

Untangling

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and make those who produce them less able to compete.

All of these taxes, as well as those which are less familiar or yet to be enacted, are drains on the productive sector of society. Individuals create wealth; government does not. Individuals make choices and allocate their resources among a wide array of goods and services offered freely and competitively; government makes its decisions based on political pressure and the power of interest groups.

Real Tax Reduction: A Libertarian Answer

Since Libertarians believe all taxes to be coercive and injurious to at least one group of individuals, we do not believe any particular kind of tax "reform" or package can magically transform an inherently unfair and destructive aspect of government power into one that is fair and constructive. Nor do we believe that particular forms of taxation are "better" or "worse" than other forms. We do not seek to hide taxation through schemes such as "value added tax" or to shift the burden from one group to another, less politically popular group.

Rather, Libertarians believe that *all* taxes should be reduced and eliminated, whenever and wherever possible. Achieving real tax cuts means that sooner or later real spending cuts

must be made, and this in turn means making fundamental decisions about long-running government programs and policies. Libertarians favor such a radical, sweeping reassessment of government spending.

Libertarians offer a specific program of federal tax cuts, to be enacted in combination with spending cuts. These are offered because they appear to be politically feasible in the short run, even in a Congress dominated by Republicans and Democrats. (Of course, this program in no way implies approval of any of the remaining taxing or spending programs; to repeat, we favor tax cuts whenever and wherever possible.)

The Libertarian Party's tax cut program includes:

- *Raise the personal federal income tax exemption*—the "zero bracket"—from \$2400 to \$7500. This would totally exempt lower-income people from federal income taxes.

- *Cut all personal income tax rates by at least 50 percent.* A 50 percent cut would change the range of tax liability from 14-50 percent to 9-25 percent. These changes could result in an average tax reduction of about \$1000 per American in the first year of enactment.

- *Abolish inheritance tax*, which represents a relatively small fraction of government revenue while doing disproportionate damage to small businesses and farms.

- *Abolish import duties and tariffs*, which hit consumers particularly hard and serve as barriers to free trade and peaceful international relations.

With those who believe that little can be done about high taxes, Libertarians must emphatically disagree: Taxes *can* be cut. We *can* keep what we earn, and we *can* benefit

from the surge of productive activity that would result from real tax cuts.

What will it take to achieve real, significant tax cuts? The necessary factors include:

- 1) A willingness to reassess government programs and policies and to decide that correspondingly large spending cuts must also be made.

- 2) The realization that the present level of taxation is crippling the economy, destroying investment and incentives, driving small business and small farms out altogether, and contributing to the centralization of the economy under the co-management of big business and big government.

- 3) A willingness on the part of politicians to say "NO" to special interests.

- 4) A frank acknowledgement of the moral issues behind taxation; that taxation *always* involves force (or the threat of) and separates individuals from what they have justly earned; that the only proper tax "reform" is repeal.

And finally,

- 5) The election to office of those who, unlike most in office now, are willing to ask crucial questions and make these important judgments, and who will not claim to have made tax cuts when there have been no cuts, and who will not sell out to special interests.

Libertarians, through our platform, issue papers, and campaigns, have demonstrated our understanding of the fundamental issues which need to be addressed in order to achieve immediate, real tax cuts. Americans *can* fight high taxes; the Libertarian Party is already leading the fight.

Chris Hocker, former national director of the Libertarian Party, is a freelance writer based in Bridgeport, CT.

Kellems

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won't be long until we own and run the whole country. And I'll give you three guesses as to how many income taxes we'll have.

Because we women are just about fed up with all this nonsense, so-called socialized medicine, federal aid to education and all the rest of this paternalistic claptrap, designed to make us incompetent dependents upon the Government. All we want is for the Government to give back to the American people the money which is rightfully theirs, the money for which they work and which they earn, and we'll pay our own doctors' bills, we'll educate our own children, and we'll once more become self-respecting, self-reliant citizens. And, incidentally, we'll stop spending half our time filling out ten thousand silly income tax returns, questionnaires and forms which will give us more time in which to make more money—for ourselves. Of course, this will automatically get rid of thousands of form makers, form readers, form filers and tax collectors but we're not going to shed any tears about them. They can go out into private life and get productive jobs like the rest of us. With them off our backs we'll save thousands of dollars and give ourselves another tax reduction.

We women are simple people. We can't understand why the Government shouldn't first determine its income and then live within it. Why does it pass the budget first and then run out and see where it's going to get the money? Right now the Senate won't act on the tax bill until it sees what the budget is going to be. We believe that instead of passing a supercolossal budget the Senate should first give us a whopping, big tax cut, right across the board, and then tell the President how much money he can spend. That's what we do. We first find out how much money we're going to have and then we decide what we'll spend and if that income doesn't mean fur coats and diamond rings, well then, we just don't have fur coats and diamond rings. And we think it's time the Federal Government cut out fur coats and diamond rings for a spell, and concentrated on meat and potatoes.

And so may I be very impolite and close this little talk with a few words, not to you, but to another audience, a vast, unseen audience, many not within sound of my voice. I'm speaking to women, millions of American women; to every woman whose husband comes home at the end of the week with 20 per cent of his wages taken out of his pay envelope, to every woman worried and harassed over the mounting grocery bill, to every mother wondering how to buy a little boy a new pair of shoes, to every mother frantic with fear over a sick child, unable to pay a competent doctor. Women, women of America, let us band together! Let us rise up and say we will take no more of it. Let us write, let us wire, let us telephone our Congressmen, let us march on Washington, if necessary, but let us demand that this monstrous, wholesale robbery of the American people come to an end!

Reprinted from Toil, Taxes and Trouble, by Vivien Kellems (E.P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1952).

Modern taxes and frauds to collect money... afford the best evidence of the present character of aristocracy.

—John Taylor, 1814

That the people should entertain the highest disgust of a board, instituted to superintend a revenue to be raised from them without their consent is natural.

—James Otis, 1769

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soldiers to kill or subdue all who refuse them more money.

For this reason, whoever desires liberty, should understand these vital facts, viz.: 1. That every man who puts money into the hands of a "government" (so called), puts into its hands a sword which will be used against himself, to extort more money from him, and also to keep him in subjection to its arbitrary will. 2. That those who will take his money, without his consent, in the first place, will use it for his further robbery and enslavement, if he presumes to resist their demands in the future. 3. That it is a perfect absurdity to suppose that any body of men would ever take a man's money without his consent, for any such object as they profess to take it for, viz., that of protecting him; for why should they wish to protect him, if he does not wish them to do so? To suppose that they would do so, is just as absurd as it would be to suppose that they would take his money without his consent for the purpose of buying food or clothing for him, when he did not want it. 4. If a man wants "protection," he is competent to make his own bargains for it; and nobody has any occasion to rob him, in order to "protect" him against his will. 5. That the only security men can have for their political liberty, consists in their keeping their money in their own pockets, until they have assurances, perfectly satisfactory to themselves, that it will be used as they wish it to be used, for their benefit, and not for their injury. 6. That no government, so called, can reasonably be trusted for a moment, or reasonably be supposed to have honest purposes in view, any longer than it depends wholly upon voluntary support.

These facts are all so vital and so self-evident, that it cannot reasonably be supposed that any one will voluntarily pay money to a "government," for the purpose of securing its protection, unless he first makes an explicit and purely voluntary contract with it for that purpose.

It is perfectly evident, therefore, that neither such voting, nor such payment of taxes, as actually takes place, proves anybody's consent, or obligation, to support the Constitution. Consequently we have no evidence at all that the Constitution is binding upon anybody, or that anybody is under any contract or obligation whatever to support it. And nobody is under any obligation to support it.

Reprinted from No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority, by Lysander Spooner, 1870.

Lessons From Libertarian Tax Protests

By Bob Bennett

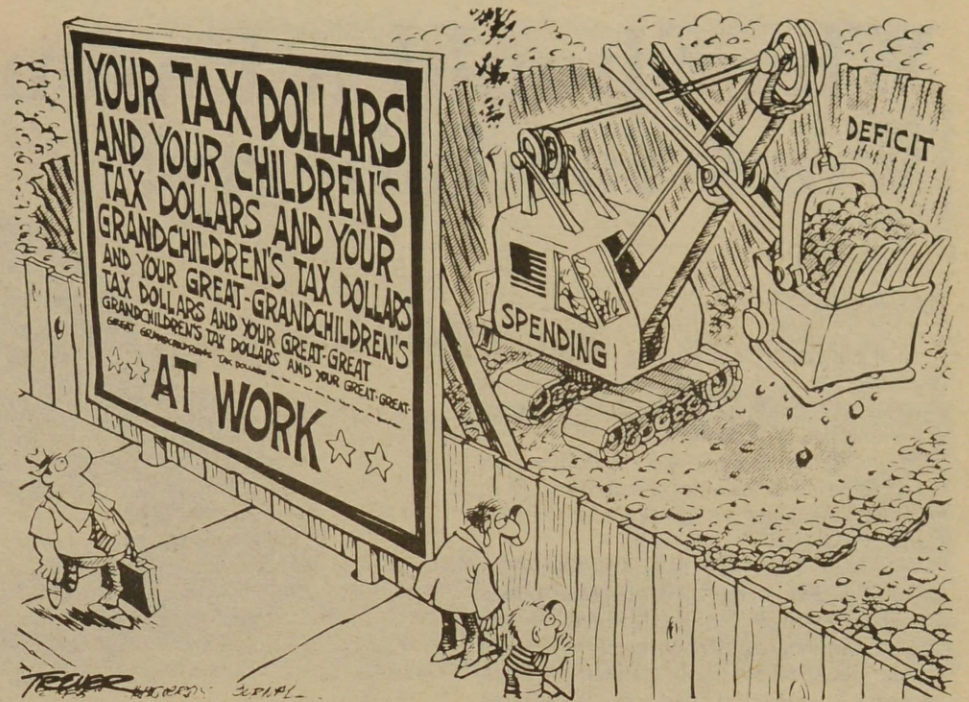
The annual Libertarian Party tax protest provides perhaps the greatest opportunity we have to reach sympathetic people. Even more important than the media attention we receive is the chance to meet people who, at least for the time being, are genuinely fed up with the State. The last-minute taxpayer is especially irritated and bothered by the whole tax-paying process, and is ripe for the libertarian message.

I can personally attest to the effectiveness of tax protest. I first met members of the Vermont Libertarian Party during the 1982 event, and joined on the spot. But I have also noticed that during tax protest, people are much more receptive than usual, and are actually interested in our ideas and solutions. Of course, in Vermont, it seems that people are unusually receptive to new political ideas anyway. We have given major political parties (i.e., with major party ballot status), including the LP, and if the entire third party vote were combined for many offices, the Democrats or the Republicans might be in a tight battle for second place. But I suspect April 15th brings about an openness toward our views almost anywhere.

Over the years we Vermonters have tried many different ways of organizing the tax protest, but I believe the simple methods work best. Handing out literature and party platforms, carrying signs, and just taking the time to talk with people is all that is really necessary for a successful protest.

The tax protest also gives those who participate the chance to learn more about presenting libertarian ideas. No matter how receptive people are to an anti-tax message, they will be skeptical of plans for the elimination or even the drastic reduction of taxes. Many people also wonder what will happen to various governmental programs under such a situation.

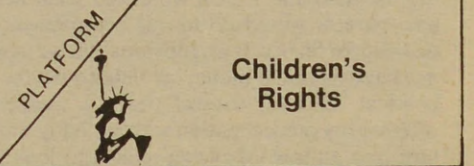
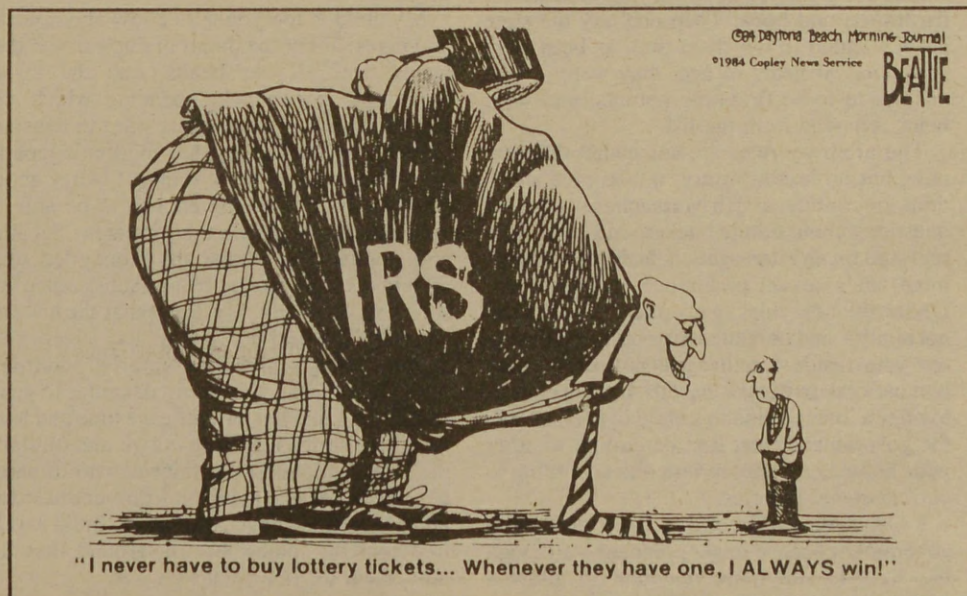
Interestingly enough, a group of state socialists indirectly provided us with a way to alleviate the many fears people have about eliminating taxes. These socialists participated in a past tax protest, along with our Party, in front of the IRS offices. Actually, they were not protesting taxes so much as they were protesting where the tax money went. They set up a group of glass jars, each labeled with a different federal program, and gave onlookers jellybeans or love beads or something. The object was to place the beads in the jar of your choice and thereby "vote" with your tax dollars for your favorite federal programs; they suggested a vote for social programs rather than the military, of course. We libertarians, however, wouldn't stand for anything as silly as that, and when given our beads, we promptly informed the socialists that since the beads were *ours*, we were going to keep them.



Yet, the socialists hit upon an important point. If taxes were repealed and people were placed in full control of their incomes, people would simply choose to support the government programs they desired, and stop supporting those which they would rather do without. It is also persuasive to argue that individuals in full control of their income would shop around for alternative suppliers of services. And entrepreneurs and voluntary groups would work to meet the demand for services, in the absence of their provision by government.

There are also people who will accuse you of being unpatriotic for carrying signs with messages such as "taxation is theft." I think a proper answer to these people would be along the lines of a quote from the 19th Century Vermont-born libertarian, Stephen T. Byington. Byington said, "It must never be unpatriotic to support your country against your government. It must always be unpatriotic to support your government against your country." Together with this quote, you might explain why taxes must be repealed, so that we can have a free country, instead of a powerful and demanding government.

Participating in "tax protest day" is also a great deal of fun. Part of that fun comes from watching IRS officials in action. At one protest, we witnessed a group of IRS yes-men writing down the messages on our signs ("Honk if you hate taxes" is truly subversive, isn't it). And at another, a few cold and unsmiling bureaucrats informed us that if we moved two inches from the sidewalk into the entrance of the Federal Building, we would be duly arrested for violating federal law. These experiences also served to reinforce our view of the whole tax system. And they provided us with even greater determination to do away with the madness that the system has produced.



Children's Rights

Children are human beings and, as such, have all the rights of human beings.

We oppose all laws that empower government officials to seize children and make them "wards of the state" or, by means of child labor laws and compulsory education, to infringe on their freedom to work or learn as they choose. We oppose all legally created or sanctioned discrimination against (or in favor of) children, just as we oppose government discrimination directed at any other artificially defined sub-category of human beings. Specifically we oppose ordinances that outlaw adults-only apartments.

We also support the repeal of all laws establishing any category of crimes applicable to children for which adults would not be similarly answerable, such as curfew, smoking, and alcoholic beverage laws, and other status offenses. Similarly, we favor the repeal of "stubborn child" laws and laws establishing the category of "persons in need of supervision." We call for an end to the practice in many states of jailing children not accused of any crime. We seek the repeal of all "children's codes" of statutes which abridge due process protections for young people. We further favor the abolition of the juvenile court system, so that juveniles will be held fully responsible for their crimes.

Whenever parents or other guardians are unable or unwilling to care for their children, those guardians have the right to seek other persons who are willing to assume guardianship, and children have the right to seek other guardians who place a higher value on their lives. Accordingly, we oppose all laws that impede these processes, notably those restricting private adoption services or those forcing children to remain in the custody of their parents against their will.

Children should always have the right to establish their maturity by assuming the administration and protection of their own rights, ending dependency upon their parents or other guardians and assuming all the responsibilities of adulthood.



Women's Rights

We hold that individual rights should not be denied or abridged on the basis of sex. We call for repeal of all laws discriminating against women, such as "protective" labor laws and marriage or divorce laws which deny the full rights of men and women. We oppose all laws likely to impose restrictions on free choice and private property or to widen tyranny through reverse discrimination.

Recognizing that each person must be the sole and absolute owner of his or her own body, we support the right of women to make a personal choice regarding the termination of pregnancy. We oppose the undermining of that right via laws requiring consent of the pregnant woman's parents, consent of the prospective father, waiting periods, or compulsory provision of indoctrination on medical risks or fetal development. However, we also oppose all tax funding for abortions. It is particularly harsh to force someone who believes that abortion is murder to pay for another's abortion. We also condemn state-mandated abortions.

Why Should a Parent Work for Liberty?

By Carol Webber

Almost a year ago, I became a mother for the first time. My husband and I wanted, like most parents, to give to our daughter of the experiences that had enriched our lives.

We wanted to share books and reading with her, to show her the beauties of nature and art, to enjoy her burgeoning curiosity about the way the world works.

We wanted her to have, more completely than either of us had, a childhood where her person and her rights were respected, where she was free of coercion, regimented boredom, and the flawed model of human interaction in which goodness is equated to obedience. We wanted her to learn about living in and creating individual liberty.

As longtime activists in the Libertarian Party, my husband and I each wondered what being new parents would do to our commitment to working for liberty. It was obvious that we would not have as much money or time to devote to political work for several years. I wondered whether my preoccupation with my baby would turn into an inward-gazing refusal to look beyond my own fence. As it turned out, being a parent has given new direction to my work for the libertarian movement; statism now affects my life through its attempts to control the life of my daughter.

The first problem we noticed, in planning for liberty for our child, was that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had made other plans for the lives of our children—plans in sharp contrast to our values as libertarians. The state had agencies to manage children as a natural resource, and to "protect" children from their human right of freely-contracted association. Worst of all, Massachusetts had a law which would require us to send our child away to a jail-like building, Monday through Friday, where she would be told what to do, how to do it, how competent she was, what level in a hierarchy was her proper place, and how to be a good little citizen. They said we had to force her to go to school for twelve years, beginning as soon as she was six years old. We weren't about to obey this law; yet we had good career prospects, we liked our home and friends, we did not want to move, and we were reluctant to risk our own liberty. Was there another way?

We learned, through our network of libertarian friends, that there were two legal methods of getting around the compulsory education laws: we could obtain permission for our child to be educated at home, or we could send her to an alternative school in the next town that stands opposed to the coercion of children, and does not tell them what to do, grade them or label them, or instruct them in the cult of the state. Many, many people in our community had given years of their time and energy to create these choices; some of them were across-the-board libertarians, others were parents who perceived that their children were unhappy in the government schools, or were being taught to view the world through the state's blind lenses. Most of these activists had become aware of the true nature of compulsory education by reading the books of the late John Holt, and by remembering the painful, wasted years they'd endured in statist schools.

To protect these choices for our child, we are becoming involved in the home-schooling and alternative school movements; this involvement will help us both as parents and as libertarians. By building a network of people who support liberty for children, by exchanging information on ways to free children from the state's control in specific places and situations, and by gaining legitimacy for the idea of freedom for children through discussion in the mass media, we can



create a political climate in which many more noncoercive alternatives to government education will be allowed to exist.

The movement for alternatives to public education offers opportunities for libertarians to widen the perspectives of people who are thinking about individual freedom for the first time. Parents who have had to battle to free their children from the alleged benevolence of the public schools are ready to question the state's intentions in other areas. A libertarian concern for children as real people will contrast sharply with the fraudulent concern of bureaucrats who speak of children as a set of demographic data to be processed, or as zoo animals which they have been paid to catalog and keep clean.

As biological parents, we were able to escape the ways in which the state regulates, intimidates, and harasses people who wish to adopt a child. We live next door to a retired couple who never tire of playing with our toddler, and who often look after her when we want to have an evening to ourselves. One afternoon, my neighbor told me why they had never had any children. She'd been unable to conceive, so they went to a state agency to try to adopt a baby. They were placed on a waiting list, and told that the first "suitable" baby would be theirs; they were not told that, at that time, the state had a strict policy of not permitting mixed race adoptions, and that virtually all of the babies which the state had deemed racially acceptable had biological mothers who strongly preferred that their children be placed in Catholic homes. They waited for eight years, in varying mixtures of frustration and hope. Then one day the state agency called to tell them that, as both were now over 30 years of age, they were judged unsuitable to be first-time parents, and were being removed from the list.

The arbitrary rules are somewhat different now, but no less arbitrary; mixed-race adoptions are routine, and in Massachusetts the old questions about ethnic background have been replaced by an interrogation designed to determine one's sexual preference and practices. Under the new rules, gays and lesbians need not apply—and unrelated members of the same sex who reside together are presumed to be homosexual. In Massachusetts, it is not enough to offer a loving home to a child in need of one; the government must first determine whether your home is an appropriate one according to current social theories.

I was fortunate; as of this date I needed no government license to get pregnant—although the state is still quite reluctant to allow a

woman to give birth in an unlicensed facility like her own home. Further, I'm legally married for the first time, I'm a middle-class homeowner, and all my neighbors consider me a nice person. It is important for a mother to observe these criteria if she wants to escape the ministrations of the Massachusetts Department of Social Services. The DSS plays a form of Russian roulette called foster care with the children of many unwed mothers, divorced mothers, poor mothers, or simply mothers whose neighbors don't approve of them. I want children to be protected from domestic violence at least as much as I want men and women to be protected from criminal violence; but I feel very uncomfortable living in a place where police can take my child away from me on one unsubstantiated complaint from one anonymous informant. Concern for my own family's freedom is leading me to look for ways to protect other families from state social workers who turn people into case histories.

In a more personal context, my husband and I had no clear idea of how to be the parents of a free child. Like most people in this society, we had grown up in the care of parents who did not lead consistently libertarian lives, who used coercion as a method of childrearing at least part of the time. We hadn't much experience of how to apply the principles of liberty to the specific case of how to live with a small child. Other libertarians who had children, or who'd given thought to the issues of children's rights, have shared their experiences and discussed our questions. Working within the libertarian movement is helping us to live liberty as well as advocate it.

My child is too young to know about death and taxes; about the threat of nuclear war that hangs over all our heads, and the insurmountable government spending which the Republicans and Democrats want to legislate upon her generation, and her children's generation. I know about these things; I worry about whether she'll live long enough to be able to vote against the bomb that threatens her life, and whether she'll have any money left over after taxes to pay for more than subsistence in a shrinking economy. My desire that she have an acceptable world to live in has given new urgency to my search for libertarian solutions. At the very least, I want my daughter to grow up knowing that her parents gave time and hard work to a serious effort to outwit and outflank the interventionists and thieves who threaten her future. And sometimes I turn enthusiastic and dream that her generation will build a truly free society, somewhere on ground that the movement for liberty has cleared.

International Support

Jim Elwood and I would like to offer our heartiest congratulations on the fine job that you and your associates have done in reviving the LP NEWS. We must say that we are heartened by the conciliatory tone set in your editorial—i.e., recognizing the value of the efforts of libertarians from the many and diverse branches of this complex movement. There can be no question that many of the non-political efforts are helping to change the overall climate of opinion and in the long run this can only add to the chances for future libertarian electoral successes.

The difficulties experienced by the Libertarian Party over the last couple of years have put a serious damper on the morale of the organized North American libertarian movement in general—of that there can be no doubt. But just as in economic depressions, the organizations that survive (and effectively redirect their intellectual capital) will be all the more vigorous and effective for having weathered the storm. We think it is encouraging, for example, to see that many LP members are increasingly shifting their emphasis from high-level "show" campaigns over to guerilla-type local strategies—which is much more in keeping with the current state of the "real world." Think-tanks such as Reason, Cato, and several others have been successfully using the leveraging strategy of influencing public-policy makers and opinion-leaders through well-prepared, practical and yet principled proposals. Efficient and harmonious networking organizations such as Libertarian International and Dagny Sharon's group are increasingly combining intellectual resource pooling and activist cooperation in areas of mutual interest.

A final note. On the subject of the future of Libertarianism and an appropriate "foreign policy" for Libertarians (a topic which has been the subject of considerable furious debate over the past few years), Roy Childs, former Foreign Policy Analyst for Cato, is quoted as saying:

"I believe that we *can* win and we *must* win—and the answer lies not in an (government) interventionist foreign policy but in building through sweat and tears and money and effort, an international revolutionary libertarian movement."

That is exactly what people in 40 countries are now doing via Libertarian International, and we hope that LP members will increasingly come to view LI as an important adjunct to the freedom fight here in the U.S.

Best personal regards, and here's to....

Freedom In Our Time
Vince Miller
Jim Elwood
Libertarian International
Richmond, Virginia



The Economy

Government intervention in the economy imperils both the personal freedom and the material prosperity of every American. We therefore support the following specific immediate reforms:

- drastic reduction of both taxes and government spending;
- an end to deficit budgets;
- a halt to inflationary monetary policies;
- the removal of all governmental impediments to free trade; and
- the repeal of all controls on wages, prices, rents, profits, production, and interest rates.

Green Party Politics And Libertarianism

By Carol Moore

A "Green Movement" is growing in America. It is influenced by traditional Jeffersonian ideals, by the experience of progressive activists over the past 25 years, and by the success of the German Greens. In the last two years the movement has formed three continental organizations, the North American Greens, the North American Bioregional Congress, and the Committees of Correspondence. They reach out to constituencies of hundreds of organizations and tens of thousands of individuals.

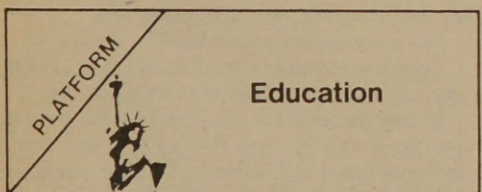
I myself have been active in local Los Angeles Green and libertarian groups and have written for publications in both movements. I have come to believe that libertarian insights and principles are essential to the achievement of Green goals and that Greens and libertarians should work together.

As you can see below, there is a great deal of overlap between libertarian principles and the widely agreed upon "Green Values" listed.

Ecological Wisdom

Green philosophy is influenced by "whole systems" theory which describes a world which is both dynamic and interconnected; where balance, unity, and order arise out of flux and diversity. Libertarians, and free market advocates from Adam Smith to Fredrich Hayek to Jane Jacobs, have similarly argued that where people are free to pursue a diversity of interests and activities, healthy societies will emerge.

Environmentally, libertarians consider pollution of the air, land, water, or water tables to be a violation of rights. They condemn the role of federal, state, and local governments in permitting such pollution and in fostering, as well, public and private despoliation of natural resources. While there are differing opinions between the movements, and even within each, about the nature of environmental exploitation and the best way to preserve nature, these should be springboards for discussion, not excuses for division.



Education

We advocate the complete separation of education and State. Government schools lead to the indoctrination of children and interfere with the free choice of individuals. Government ownership, operation, regulation, and subsidy of schools and colleges should be ended.

As an interim measure to encourage the growth of private schools and variety in education, we support tax credits for tuition and for other expenditures related to an individual's education. We support the repeal of all taxes on the income or property of private schools, whether profit or non-profit.

We condemn compulsory education laws, which spawn prisonlike schools with many of the problems associated with prisons, and we call for the immediate repeal of such laws.

Until government involvement in education is ended, we support elimination, within the governmental school system, of forced busing and corporal punishment. We further support immediate reduction of tax support for schools, and removal of the burden of school taxes from those not responsible for the education of children.

Non-Violence and Peace

The foremost libertarian principle is that no individual, or government composed of individuals, has the right to initiate force against another. Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King constantly reminded us that freedom and non-violence are interconnected. Most libertarians are keenly interested in concepts popular among Greens: non-violent conflict resolution and arbitration, non-violently organized communities, and non-violent civilian-based defense. Finally, libertarians have developed thorough critiques of militarism, interventionism, imperialism, and war and are committed to ending them.

Post-Patriarchal Values

Libertarian feminists have exposed the connections between male dominance and state dominance. They've envisioned a world free of such age-old domination.

Decentralism/Bioregionalism

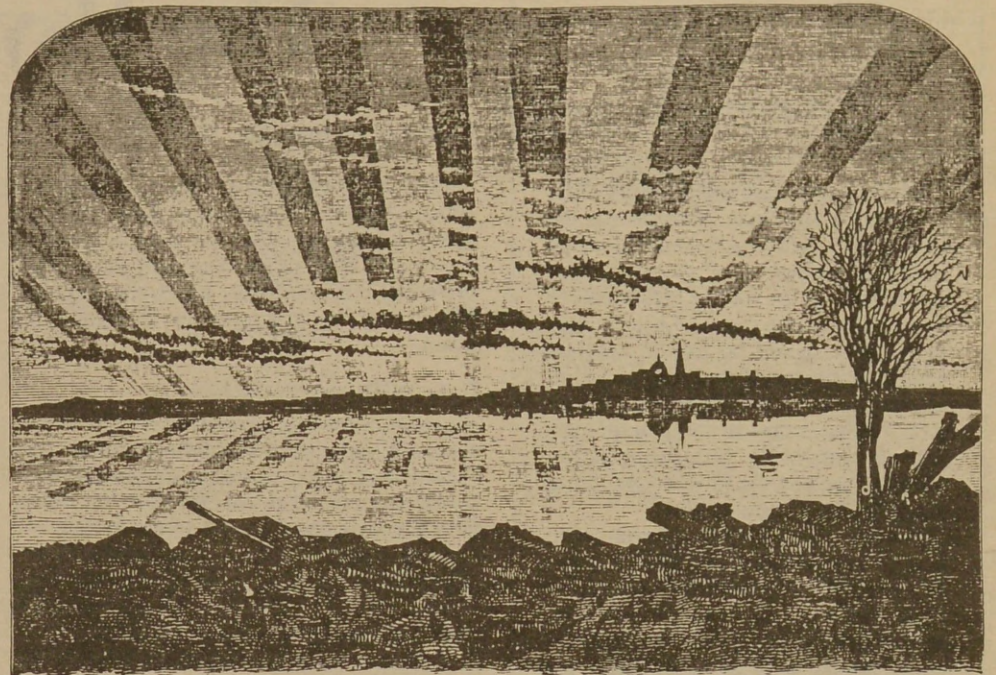
Most Greens believe that the planet's large, centralized, war-mongering nation states must be broken up. Instead, self-determined communities will be loosely federated regionally, possibly according to ecologically significant "bioregional" factors such as watersheds or landforms. Libertarian anarchists and minimal-state decentralists would support these ideas, agreeing with Greens that we should "Think Globally, Act Locally."

Grassroots Democracy

Most libertarians take a "minimalist" view of democracy; community decision-making would concern, at most, courts, police, and defense. Many Greens currently call for local community decision-making on a wide variety of issues. While Greens can learn from libertarians about the hazards of "too much" democracy, they will find them tolerant of democratic community alternatives—as long as Greens don't try to force them on libertarians.

Community Economics

Libertarians believe that government intervention in economies creates monopolies, stifles innovation, subsidizes big corporations, and destroys their small business competitors. Greens are rapidly coming to appreciate this view as they work to rebuild local economies



by establishing alternate technologies, businesses, and even monetary systems.

Individual and Social Responsibility

Libertarians emphasize individual responsibility. But they support whatever voluntary efforts Greens might organize to help impoverished peoples, locally and globally. Greens might respond that it is actually in one's own self-interest to help the less fortunate, before their discontent leads to crime, social unrest, and war.

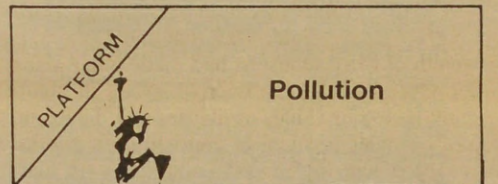
Why do I believe libertarianism is critical to achieve these Green values? My own experience of bitter factionalism over the "true definition" of the label "Green" reminded me of the importance of the essentially libertarian values of tolerance of diversity and peaceful conflict resolution. As important as maintaining group cohesion, is convincing a skeptical public that Greens are not just one more power-seeking movement bent on imposing their narrow, sectarian vision on everyone else.

People worldwide are eager to join a movement that promises to free them from authoritarianism, violence, war, male dominance, environmental degradation, and elite-dominated economies. Greens would be wise to follow the libertarian example of the American Revolution's original Committees of Correspondence.

Green and libertarian individuals and groups all over the world should begin meeting to discuss principles, values, and goals, to work out joint strategies for opposing statism, and to create non-state economic and political alter-

natives. Green and libertarian radical decentralists should begin writing the new constitutions that will allow autonomous communities to network and federate in a post-nation state world. Green libertarians might form "Green Caucuses" in the Libertarian Party, as Greens have done in the Citizens, Peace and Freedom, and Democratic Parties.

Greens have a lot to learn from libertarians, and libertarians might even learn a few things from Greens. We have too much in common not to explore ways of helping each other create the diverse but intensely exciting worlds we envision.



Pollution

Pollution of other people's property is a violation of individual rights. Present legal principles, particularly the unjust and false concept of "public property," permit continued degradation of the environment and continued violation of individual rights. We support the development of an objective legal system defining property rights to air and water. We call for a modification of the laws governing such torts as trespass and nuisance to cover damages done by air, water, radiation, and noise pollution. We oppose legislative proposals to exempt persons who claim damage from radiation from having to prove such damage was in fact caused by radiation. Strict liability, not government agencies and arbitrary government standards, should regulate pollution. We therefore demand the abolition of the Environmental Protection Agency. We also oppose government-mandated smoking and no-smoking areas in privately owned businesses.

Toxic waste disposal problems have been created by government policies that separate liability from property. Rather than making taxpayers pay for toxic waste clean-ups, individual property owners or, in the case of corporations, the responsible managers and employees, should be held strictly liable for material damage done by their property. Claiming that one has abandoned a piece of property does not absolve one of the responsibility for actions one has set in motion. We condemn the EPA's Superfund whose taxing powers are used to penalize all chemical firms, regardless of their conduct. Such clean-ups are a subsidy of irresponsible companies at the expense of responsible ones.

The Bible Says It's So

There is in the Old Testament one of the most powerful indictments of political coercion and of the dangers of letting nationalism overcome a sense of personal conscience and value. In the Bible, of course, the point is that political power must not be raised above godly power. But non-believers could as easily make a similar statement; that political power must not be raised above the power of individual conscience. The Biblical warning appears in the eighth chapter of the first book of Samuel and the text printed here is from the King James version. The section quoted is a specific warning about the nature of rulers:

"He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots." (The obvious modern version of this is the military draft. The image of a platoon of Secret Service agents running ahead of the President's "chariot" is vividly familiar.)

"And he will appoint him captains over thousands and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground and reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariot." (Today the captains are clearly bureaucrats and they lord it over people in numbers large and small while the labor of

many is devoted simply to state armaments and everyone becomes an instrument of state policy, the great vehicle of the ruler.)

"And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers." (Supporters of extending conscription to universal service may be seen as suggesting that although women should not be in combat they should be in the kitchens of social service programs.)

"And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers, and to his servants." (If the government only took a tenth of our "seed" most of us would swoon in gratitude but no matter how much is taken it goes to political favoritism.)

"...Nevertheless the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we will have a king over us." (The disheartening fact, for Libertarians, is that despite all of the evidence of the historic failure of national rulers to bring peace and prosperity there are so many people who keep insisting that without a ruler over them ["someone has got to run things"] nothing useful could be accomplished. It is against that horrid abasement of the spirit of individual accomplishment that the Libertarian Party struggles.)

PLATFORM

Health Care

We advocate the complete separation of medicine and State. Recognizing the individual's right to self-medication, we seek the elimination of all government restrictions on the right of individuals to pursue alternative forms of health care. Individuals should be free to contract with practitioners of their choice for all health care services. We oppose government infringements of the practitioner-patient relationship through regulatory agencies such as the Professional Standards Review Organization.

We condemn efforts by government to impose a medical orthodoxy on society. We specifically oppose the attempt by state and local governments to deny parents the right to choose the option of home births and to discourage the development of privately funded women's clinics. We call for the repeal of all laws that restrict the practice of lay midwifery or that permit harassment of lay midwives and home birth practitioners. We also call for the repeal of all medical licensing laws, which have raised medical costs while creating a government-imposed monopoly of doctors and hospitals.

We oppose any form of compulsory National Health Insurance. We favor the abolition of Medicare and Medicaid programs. We also oppose any state or federal area planning boards whose stated purpose is to consolidate health services or avoid their duplication. We support the removal of all government barriers to medical advertising, including prohibition of publication of doctors' fees and drug prices. We further support the elimination of prescription requirements for the dispensing of medicines and other health-related items.

We favor the deregulation of the health insurance industry. We oppose laws that limit the freedom of contract of patients and health care professionals, and laws regulating the supply of legal aid on a contingency fee basis. We also oppose subsidy of malpractice insurance through public funds. We call for the repeal of laws forcing health care professionals to render medical services in emergencies or other situations.

We condemn attempts at the federal, state, or local level to cripple the advance of science by governmental restrictions on research. We oppose subsidies to, or restrictions of, medical education. We call for an end to government policies compelling individuals to submit to medical experiments, treatment, and testing. We condemn compulsory hospitalization, compulsory vaccination, and compulsory fluoridation.

As interim measures, we advocate dollar-for-dollar tax credits to any individual or group providing health care services to the needy or paying for such services. Tax credits should also be made available for private grants to medical education and medical research.

If ye love wealth better than liberty, the tranquility of servitude better than the animating contest of freedom, go home from us in peace. We ask not your counsels or your arms. Crouch down and lick the hands which feed you. May your chains set lightly upon you, and may posterity forget that ye were our countrymen.

—Samuel Adams

The Psychology of Freedom

By Peter R. Breggin, M.D.

Peter R. Breggin, M.D., is a psychiatrist in private practice in Bethesda, Maryland, an active libertarian, and the author of many books and articles dealing with psychiatry, including Electroschok: Its Brain-Disabling Effects and Psychiatric Drugs: Hazards to the Brain.

Free Will

Decision making is so much a part of our existence that it is no exaggeration to describe ourselves as beings who must daily reaffirm or modify our own lives and lifestyles. We determine the style and the goals of our lives in our every thought and action. This means that the unhappy among us, as well as the happy, have created their own lifestyles and pursued their own ends and that the quality of this happiness is often determined by the style and the ends that have been chosen.

Self-determination

The conscious exercise of free will by the individual is the starting point for self-determination. Self-determination is:

the determination of one's own course of action; freedom to think and to act without restraint or coercion; self-direction.

Self-determination as an *ideal* has at least three related components: (1) the conscious, rational exercise of decision making; (2) freedom from inhibition or internal restraint, as reflected in guilt, shame, and anxiety; (3) regard for the equal rights of others to determine their own lives in their own way.

Personal Sovereignty

The individual will always meet great difficulty in self-determining his or her life within the external, objective world, but one has considerably more liberty in self-determining the subjective, internal world.

By personal sovereignty I mean the capacity and the right to be in charge of one's inner, subjective world of feelings, thoughts, and decisions.

Everything of importance to the human being begins with the ownership and control of one's own feelings, thoughts, and judgments.

The sovereign man or woman is the supreme judge of the importance, validity, and value of everything in his or her personal life. This person may pause to listen to the judgment of others, if he or she wishes; but when the moment of decision comes, the self-determining person makes up his or her own mind.

It is not easy for any of us to be personally sovereign. In the process of learning more about ourselves—our thoughts, feelings, capacities, and desires—we must regularly confront and overcome new barriers to internal freedom. But we must never be led from this realization to an acceptance of limits upon personal sovereignty. From the viewpoint of the liberated individual, personal sovereignty must be treated as an absolute right and as an infinite potential. No one can know what, if any, limits are set upon the human being's capacity to think, feel, imagine, and choose. Just when it seems that these limits have been found or redefined, a new creative mind bursts out of the old confines.

Awareness of Self As a Moral Agent

Each person confronts or fails to confront responsibility for enlarging personal sovereignty or self-determination of the subjective inner world. If successful, he or she becomes increasingly more self-aware in deciding the quality of his or her inner experience.

Anyone who pursues self-liberation—home-maker, business person, artist, or child—must increase this control throughout his or her lifetime. Successful living requires sufficient

awareness of oneself as a moral agent to remain ethical despite threats and worldly temptations. This personal supremacy means that the individual can no longer be corrupted by bribery, extortion, or other real or imagined pressures. He or she thinks and feels independently, despite the prevailing political, religious, or moral standards and despite pressures from friends and family.

The major goal of all therapies and self-help programs should be this moral supremacy of the individual within his or her own world.

Emotions

Emotions such as love, hate, self-esteem, and guilt result from our actions. They are not mysterious, magical forces that rise up to dominate our lives; they are reflections of the ways in which we choose to govern our lives. The kind of emotions that we feel follow directly from the kind of choices that we make. Choices that enhance our lives and fulfill our ideals produce high self-esteem and self-love;



choices that defeat our lives and destroy our values produce low self-esteem, usually in the form of guilt, shame, or anxiety. Feelings do not determine us; we determine our feelings. We determine them for the better by the rationality of our chosen values and by the ardor and honesty with which we pursue them.

Self-love

As a conditional viewpoint of oneself, self-esteem rises and falls according to our success and failure in self-determination. If this were our primary relationship to ourselves—if self-esteem were indistinguishable from self-love—our positive feelings toward ourselves would collapse every time we brought a serious failure upon ourselves. Because the bottom would fall out of our feelings toward ourselves, we would lose our motivation to take care of ourselves or to pursue our own self-interest and would spiral downward after every failure. Every personal failure would become a personal tragedy. Unhappily, many of us live on such a roller coaster.

Instead, we must believe in our right to pursue self-interest even after making a failure of our past and present life. We as individuals must have the capacity to generate good feelings toward ourselves simply because we value ourselves as human beings.

In the psychology of self-determination, self-love is defined as:

the good feeling generated by placing high value upon one's own existence, human nature, life force, or self and by recognizing or understanding one's own humanity or inherent worth; joy or happiness in the presence of oneself.

Self-love and Natural Rights

Self-love is recognition of the *inherent* value of the self; hence, it implies recognition of the value of all selves. This confirms the universal quality of natural rights, or the right of each individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Self-love suggests commitment to all life because it affirms that each person, oneself included, deserves all that can be gotten out of life and, in particular, everything good that can be achieved for oneself.

To ensure survival, self-love must be unconditional—a self-generated, independent devotion to one's own well-being or natural

rights. The individual who has been a moral failure in the past must be able to affirm: "I am a human being, however fallible, however wrong, however evil in my worst intentions and actions; I am a person, a self, a part of life, and I have the potential to exercise free will, to create, and to love—however badly I have thus far acted. I love myself, knowing myself to contain the moral capacity to transcend my past. Regardless of what I have done, I have the right to build a better life for myself."

An analogy to the critical importance of self-love in personal survival can be found in the love of a mothering parent for a small child who is as yet unable to generate independent self-love. When the parent responsible for mothering withdraws love from an infant, the infant may become robotlike and unresponsive. The baby may refuse food and die. So, too, we live in a life-and-death relationship to ourselves: when we stop loving ourselves, we stop pursuing our own self-interest, even our own survival. In extreme circumstances of lovelessness and moral chaos, people have withdrawn from

themselves to such a degree that they have died without apparent physical cause.

Love for oneself must be even more constant in its attachment than love for others. We cannot reject ourselves and yet survive. We cannot say to ourselves "I quit myself," or "I'm fed up with me and plan to take a long vacation from me." People do try to withdraw from themselves in this manner, often through frantic activities, drugs, or other artificial distractions, and even, sometimes, through quiet apathy. This is a desperate condition.

Love and Esteem For Others

When I speak of love, I mean assigning such high value to a life or to an aspect of life that knowledge or awareness of its existence brings joy and meaning into one's own life.

Love toward whom or what?

Love toward any expression of life or toward any principles or ideals that enhance life.

It can be love for life itself or for human liberty; it can be love for oneself and one's personal creativity; it can be love for a child or for an adult or for an animal or a plant; it can be romantic love with its desired sexual union with another person. Love is the placement of a high value on any aspect of life and existence.

Love is self-generated from within the individual and does not require a response from the loved person or object. Love recognizes and accepts the nature of that which is loved. Love is the emotion associated with full awareness of life.

Self-love was defined as the placement of a high value upon oneself and, ultimately, as joy in the presence of oneself. It was described as the source of our natural right to pursue self-interest, personal happiness, and self-determined ideals.

Love for others is exactly parallel. In the psychology of self-determination, love for others is:

the good feeling generated by placing high value upon another person's existence, human nature, life force, or self and by recognizing or understanding another's humanity or inherent worth. Joy or happiness in the presence of another person.

Love for others is the source from which we

grant rights to others. Through love, we recognize the common humanity of all people, and we assign to them the rights inherent in being human. Love for others as an abstraction becomes love for liberty or the right of each person to express his or her human nature freely and in his or her own way. The concept of love implies that life itself is good and that people can and should respond happily to all expressions of aliveness and vitality in themselves and others.

Love and Mutual Interests

Self-love as the granting of high value to oneself is the source of our devotion to self-interest and personal happiness. In the same fashion, love for others is the source of our devotion to their interests and happiness.

As love for another person grows, that other person's interests increasingly become identical to one's own. If one person fully loves another, interests often become identical. Loving partners may seldom find any need to distinguish between their individual interests. They find such joy in each other and such trust in each other that they often find themselves thinking of the other's interests. There is no sacrifice in this; there is cooperation and mutuality. The two people become a team serving a shared interest.

A loving twosome can add to each other's lives and to their overall welfare more effectively than a person solely devoted to his or her own interest. Every human being grows up with a certain amount of guilt, shame, or anxiety about the pursuit of self-interest. I may find myself turning against myself and my own happiness but may try to rationalize it. My wife, on the other hand, may be more objective about my problem and point out to me that I am treating myself in a way in which I would never treat her or anyone else whom I love.

Parents, therapists, and anyone who has a

Civic Virtue of The Month Award

...I would not ever again permit anyone, in any neighborhood, to drop any kind of explosive device on a house.

—Philadelphia Mayor W. Wilson Goode

contractual agreement to serve the best interests of another should obviously function in the same manner as a loving friend. The therapist is motivated by professional ethics and a contractual agreement, as well as by affection. But the outcome should be the same—careful, scrupulous dedication to the self-interest of the person whom he or she serves. Unhappily, parents and therapists alike often fail by encouraging self-sacrifice in those with whose interests they are entrusted.

When both esteem and love are present, a relationship can become as rich as possible. A mutual trust can develop based on both a knowledge of the other person as a person and a respect for that person's ethics and conduct. When such a person is chosen as a partner in friendship or in marriage, most barriers can break down, including the barrier between one's own interests and the interests of the other. A close friend is one with whom there is such a degree of trust and understanding that distinctions between individual interests rarely need to be made; instead, both partners are on the lookout for each other's interest.

The Personal And the Political

Human action is governed by the same principles, whether in the arena of personal life or political life. The twin principles of libertarianism are a belief in free will and a belief in the individual's right to express free will through personal freedom. This means that the individual must be free to create voluntary relationships, to pursue self-interest, and to advocate personal ideals. He or she must be limited only by the injunction against the use of force or fraud in achieving his or her own ends.

For those of us who can find joy and satisfaction in the fight for political liberty, such activities make sense. For those who cannot find joy in them, they are self-defeating. Each person owns himself or herself. Neither reason nor experience tells me that a person must join in the fight for human liberty. Some of the finest people I know don't give a hoot about political action, while some others devote much of their life work to the cause of liberty. Reason and experience do tell me that the fight for human liberty can be very interesting, worthwhile, and exciting. That is the best way to enter the larger struggle for human liberty: as a personally satisfying experience.

Self-Ownership

The principle of self-ownership means we must trust all other beings with absolute respect for their rights. You literally have no claim whatsoever on the lives of others. You can only relate to them when, where, and how they want you to; otherwise, you must let them be. You must treat them with respect for their self-ownership or not at all. This is what is meant by voluntary exchange. It is exchange based upon mutual self-interest between sovereign persons.

Love itself is made more pure within the ideal of self-ownership. You may love and appreciate whomever you please, but your love can only be fulfilled through voluntary exchange. You cannot impose a relationship upon the loved person, no matter how much you need or desire your loved one. I can imagine no psychology or philosophy based upon less selfish principles of love. It is a selfish philosophy and psychology only in the best sense of the word—respect for the rights of every self or person in the universe.

The psychology and the politics of freedom are derived from the inherent right of every individual to exercise free will in the determination of his or her own life. The freedom-loving individual does not believe that he or she alone has been mysteriously chosen to be free. He or she believes in the right of each person to pursue self-interest and his or her own ideals.

Liberty is the context within which each individual can best develop himself or herself. Love is the liberated individual's affirmation of life. Liberty and love are the twin principles of the good and happy life.

Reprinted from *The Psychology of Freedom: Liberty and Love as a Way of Life* (Prometheus Books, Buffalo, New York, 1980; \$15.95).

PLATFORM



Poverty And Unemployment

Government fiscal and monetary measures that artificially foster business expansion guarantee an eventual increase in unemployment rather than curtailing it. We call for the immediate cessation of such policies as well as any governmental attempts to affect employment levels.

We support repeal of all laws that impede the ability of any person to find employment, such as minimum wage laws, so-called "protective" labor legislation for women and children, governmental restrictions on the establishment of private day-care centers, and the National Labor Relations Act. We deplore government-fostered retirement, which robs the elderly of the right to work.

We seek the elimination of occupational licensure, which prevents human beings from working in whatever trade they wish. We call for the abolition of all federal, state, and local government agencies that restrict entry into any profession, such as education and law, or regulate its practice. No worker should be penalized for lack of certification, and no consumer should be legally restrained from hiring unlicensed individuals.

We oppose all government welfare, relief projects, and "aid to the poor" programs. All these government programs are privacy-invading, paternalistic, demeaning, and inefficient. The proper source of help for such persons is the voluntary efforts of private groups and individuals.

To speed the time when governmental programs are replaced by effective private institutions, we advocate dollar-for-dollar tax credits for all charitable contributions.

Consumer Protection

We support strong and effective laws against fraud and misrepresentation. However, we oppose paternalistic regulations which dictate to consumers, impose prices, define standards for products, or otherwise restrict risk-taking and free choice. We oppose governmental promotion or imposition of the metric system.

We oppose all so-called "consumer protection" legislation which infringes upon voluntary trade, and call for the abolition of the Consumer Product Safety Commission. We advocate the repeal of all laws banning or restricting the advertising of prices, products, or services. We specifically oppose laws requiring an individual to buy or use so-called "self-protection" equipment such as safety belts, air bags, or crash helmets.

We advocate the abolition of the Federal Aviation Administration, which has jeopardized airline safety by arrogating to itself a monopoly of safety regulation and enforcement.

We advocate the abolition of the Food and Drug Administration and particularly its policies of mandating specific nutritional requirements and denying the right of manufacturers to make non-fraudulent claims concerning their products. We advocate an end to compulsory fluoridation of water supplies. We specifically oppose government regulation of the price, potency, or quantity able to

Libertarian Planks

be produced or purchased of drugs or other consumer goods. There should be no laws regarding what substances (nicotine, alcohol, hallucinogens, narcotics, laetrile, artificial sweeteners, vitamin supplements, or other "drugs") a person may ingest or otherwise use.

The Right to Property

There is no conflict between property rights and human rights. Indeed, property rights are the rights of humans with respect to property, and as such, are entitled to the same respect and protection as all other human rights.

Moreover, all human rights are property rights, too. Such rights as the freedom from involuntary servitude and the freedom of speech and press are based on self-ownership. Our bodies are our property every bit as much as is justly acquired land or material objects.

We further hold that the owners of property have the full right to control, use, dispose of, or in any manner enjoy, their property without interference, until and unless the exercise of their control infringes the valid rights of others. We oppose all violations of the right to private property, liberty of contract, and freedom of trade done in the name of national security. We also condemn current government efforts to regulate or ban the use of property in the name of aesthetic values, riskiness, moral standards, cost-benefit estimates, or the promotion or restriction of economic growth.

We demand an end to the taxation of privately owned real property, which actually makes the State the owner of all lands and forces individuals to rent their homes and places of business from the State. We condemn recent attempts to employ eminent domain to municipalize sports teams or to try to force them to stay in their present location.

Where property, including land, has been taken from its rightful owners by government or private action in violation of individual rights, we favor restitution to the rightful owners. Specifically, we call for the return of lands taken from Americans of Japanese ancestry during the Second World War.

Crime

The continuing high level of violent crime—and the government's demonstrated inability to deal with it—threatens the lives, happiness, and belongings of Americans. At the same time, governmental violations of rights undermine the people's sense of justice with regard to crime. The appropriate way to suppress crime is through consistent and impartial enforcement of laws that protect individual rights. Laws pertaining to "victimless crimes" should be repealed since such laws themselves violate individual rights and also breed other types of crime. We applaud the trend toward private protection services and voluntary community crime control groups. We support institutional changes, consistent with full respect for the rights of the accused, that would permit victims to direct the prosecution in criminal cases.

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Basic Books

The Literature of Liberty

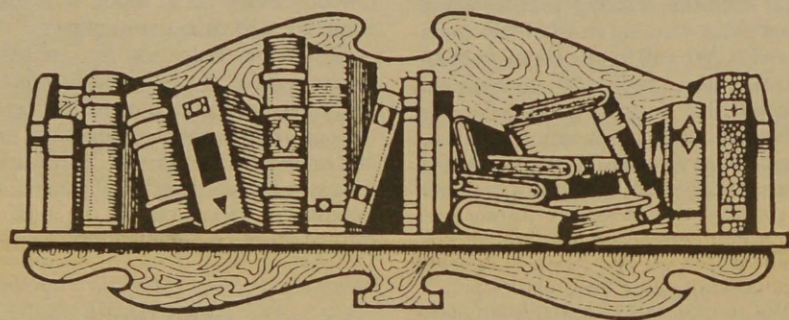
By Roy A. Childs, Jr.

Libertarianism is first and foremost the celebration of individual freedom, of the principles that make it possible, of the glorious accomplishments that have come in its wake, and of the never-ending possibilities it heralds for our future. As such, it has never been captured fully in one book or essay. As a doctrine, it lies scattered throughout the pages of countless books and articles; as a point of view, it has many variations. Any list of books and essays must be incomplete, but that does not mean that we should eschew the attempt. Here are some suggestions for the beginning of an exciting intellectual voyage.

Begin with *Economics in One Lesson*, by Henry Hazlitt. Libertarianism involves much more than economics, of course, but we must start somewhere, and this is a delightful place to begin. This classic work refutes hosts of myths about the free market; but much more, it teaches us to think about the economic world in

defending individualism, and then to two collections of essays by Rand and her (former) associates: *The Virtue of Selfishness* and *Capitalism: the Unknown Ideal*.

If you enjoy Rand, then here are two other books you'll find fascinating. *The God of the Machine* is by Isabel Patterson, who was something of a mentor to Rand in the areas of political theory and history. Its first couple of chapters are a mite difficult to get into, but from then on it is an exciting adventure with a great mind. In the introduction for this edition, Rand calls it "an invaluable arsenal of intellectual ammunition for any advocate of capitalism." *The Market for Liberty* is a book by two former followers of Rand, Morris and Linda Tennehill. This work in social and political theory goes past Rand's advocacy of limited government and tries to show how we could have a peaceful and prosperous society without any government at all. Along the way to their conclusion is a very



terms of basic principles. You want to "cure unemployment," Hazlitt says, or protect American jobs from foreign competition. You favor some government program to do just that. The problem is, you are only looking at the program's obvious results; you aren't looking at its unintended consequences. Yet you must, in order to see the whole picture. In 26 chapters, Hazlitt will lead you through illustration after illustration of this basic principle, and show how those favored government programs do more harm than good. This is a mind-opening book.

Move from economics to one of the keenest essays ever written on political theory, Frederic Bastiat's *The Law*. We are born into the world naked, he writes, and to live we human beings must produce the things we need. That's why we need property rights, and the function of just laws under a just government should be to protect these basic rights. But alas! the law has been perverted and has become an instrument for legalized plunder. *The Law* was first published as a pamphlet in 1850; its truths remain eternal.

Neither economics nor political principles exists in a vacuum. Rose Wilder Lane's magnificent book *The Discovery of Freedom* sets political and economic principles in the broad scheme of human history. Here, lyrically told, is the story of "Man's Struggle Against Authority," the search over the centuries for human freedom. Written with the passionate eloquence of a novel, this book continues to enchant new readers year after year.

The next step must certainly be Ayn Rand's monumental novel, *Atlas Shrugged*. For many people reading *Atlas Shrugged* for the first time is the intellectual event of a lifetime. Millions have read it since it was published in 1957—and it continues to attract about 100,000 new readers every year. It is an unequalled celebration of reason, human ability, individual freedom, and capitalism. If you want more Rand, turn to *The Fountainhead*, an earlier novel

provocative set of arguments and insights. You don't have to agree with it—I don't—to enjoy it just the same.

With those works behind us, the rest becomes much easier. For the best possible overview of the whole libertarian worldview, turn to the magnificent essay "The Death of Politics" by Karl Hess. This little essay will shake the cobwebs from your still-reeling mind, and teach you to look at current problems from a fresh new perspective.

Turn now to Murray Rothbard's libertarian manifesto *For a New Liberty*. Rothbard sets out his own version of the principles of libertarianism, and proceeds to look at one problem area after another. Here you'll find suggestive answers to all those thorny problems that people keep raising: public education, the welfare state, even streets, roads, environmentalism, foreign policy, and more besides! Thousands of people have found this an excellent overview of libertarianism. If you want food for thought, here is a gourmet's delight!

One of the greatest influences on modern libertarianism has been the ubiquitous Milton Friedman. *Capitalism and Freedom* is the best statement of his viewpoint. Here you'll see a great mind at work, and appreciate the power of quiet eloquence.

Now try some "shock therapy": Lysander Spooner's *No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority* was written in the last century, and it is a no-holds-barred attack on the legitimacy of our federal government. Even if you disagree with it, it will make you think. *Playboy* once called this "the most subversive document ever written." Walter Block's *Defending the Undefendable* is in a class by itself. Block looks at society's "scapegoats" and turns them into virtual heroes. Chapters laud such persons as prostitutes, pimps, drug pushers and addicts, blackmailers, "the person who cries 'fire' in a crowded theater," the ticket scalper, the dishonest cop, the speculator, litterbugs, and even the employers of child

labor! Block is audacious, but intellectuals like F.A. Hayek and Robert Nozick have hailed this book precisely because it is so challenging. Ask yourself while reading it: "How far am I willing to go?"

Let's now discuss a few classics that have had a large impact on modern libertarian thought.

Ludwig von Mises' *Liberalism* presents the broad sweep of his worldview. As you may know, Mises was one of the towering figures of the 20th Century, admired by virtually every libertarian thinker; this book, published in the 1920's, is one of his finest. Classical liberalism was in decline when he wrote it and you can hear the great Mises' passionate dedication to liberty in this wonderful work.

Albert Jay Nock's classic *Our Enemy the State*, which appeared not long after *Liberalism* is a highly readable essay in historical interpretation. He looks at American history and develops the theme that history is a race between state power and voluntary social

power. His indictment of the state is withering.

F.A. Hayek's seminal work *The Road to Serfdom*, first published in 1944, has become a classic warning against the dangers to freedom inherent in the planned economy. It is as powerful today as the day it was written—and it is this work which helped launch the libertarian revival in the post-World War II era. Chapters like "Why the Worst Get on Top" and "The End of Truth" are both provocative and chilling. Don't pass this one up!

Another pathbreaking work is Mancur Olson's *The Rise and Decline of Nations*. Olson isn't a libertarian, but don't let that stop you. This is a challenging attempt to explain how and why some nations rise, and others fall. The secret lies in whether or not a nation can avoid the entrenchment of vested interests in a society of state-fostered parasitism. It's dynamite!

A few more just to round out our selection.

Henry Mark Holzer is a follower of Ayn Rand, and his book *Sweet Land of Liberty?* is

The Literature of Liberty: The Basic Books

FREE With Any Order:

The Death of Politics by Karl Hess

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The Declaration Of Independence Then and Now

In the body of the Declaration of Independence there is enumerated a bill of particulars against the British monarch, a list of grievances so strong that it shook the empire and created a new nation. Those grievances, if moved to a modern context have a distinctly libertarian ring to them.

The monarch, it was charged, had "erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance."

The federal and state governments certainly do that today. The swarms, of course, are even more numerous today and the share of substance taken by them is greatly larger. The Libertarian Party constantly opposes arbitrary taxation and the coercive use of bureaucratic power.

The monarch, at the time of the American Revolution, "kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies." Enough said. And add to the vast military array maintained by the government today the fact that it insists on holding the young civilian population under continued threat of conscription. The Libertarian Party, with more principled consistency than any other political party, opposes every aspect of an interventionist, imperialistic foreign policy and has been active every step of the way in resisting, opposing, and seeking the abolition of conscription.

The monarch, in the 18th Century, suspended "our own legislatures, declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever."

Today, the executive branches of both state and federal governments regularly bypass legislatures to control people by executive orders and by regulation. Libertarians everywhere have devoted themselves to fighting what could be called bureaucratic imperialism.

The monarch, when the Declaration was written, "endeavored to prevent the population of these states" by land and travel restrictions.

The federal and state governments today hold vast land areas away from the use of individuals. The federal government closely regulates travel abroad. State governments

regulate the conditions of building new homes or settling in new places through zoning and other regulatory laws. Libertarian Party members have been active in trying to roll back every one of those aspects of government imperialism.

The monarch, at the time of the Revolution, cut "off our trade with all parts of the world."

State and federal regulations today strait-jacket trade even between cities as well as between nations. The Libertarian Party stands foursquare and without qualification for free trade—everywhere and by everyone.

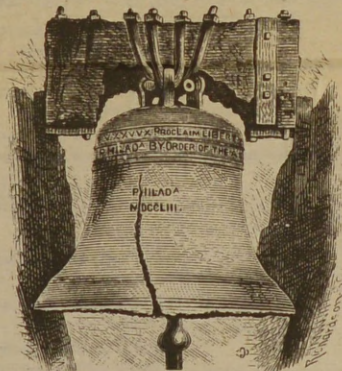
The monarch, when the Declaration of Independence was written, was charged with "imposing taxes upon us without our consent."

Today, some argue, we consent to taxation, at least tacitly, by voting for the legislators who pass the tax laws. We do not, however, vote for the unrestrained bureaucrats who, without any noticeable regard for the normal legal system, impose their own version of tax law upon all citizens and even maintain a separate court system for the adjudication of complaints against them. The Libertarian Party steadfastly opposes both the principle of involuntary taxation and the active, ruthless, politicized abuse of tax power by state agents.

Libertarians also recall that the Declaration of Independence, one of liberty's finest documents, said:

"But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security."

The Libertarian Party seeks to establish exactly that; new guards for our freedom in the form of individual rights and responsibilities and without the initiation of force.



Books

Continued from Page 20

a libertarian demolition of rotten Supreme Court decisions in areas as diverse as business, religion, and sex.

Thomas Sowell's *Markets and Minorities* is already being proclaimed "a classic in the literature of the economics and social problems of minorities" (I'm quoting Milton Friedman). This is a mind-opening work, a breath of fresh air in a field filled with much hot air.

Finally, two very important books deal with the failures of the welfare state and of our interventionist foreign policy, which, taken together, eat up the bulk of the federal budget every year. *Losing Ground*, by Charles Murray, looks at American social policies over the last three decades, and maintains that the poor have actually been harmed by the welfare state. When published a couple of years ago, it

generated a storm of controversy that has continued ever since. A book with a similar theme regarding foreign policy is Jonathan Kwitny's *Endless Enemies*, which shows how American foreign policy helps create America's own worst enemies. It's absorbing and astonishing.

That's it for basic works. There are hundreds of others worth reading, but the group discussed here certainly covers the heart of libertarianism. Each author has a unique perspective, and often disagrees heatedly with others. So be it! Who said libertarianism was some kind of party line? It's a vibrant and growing point of view. Read these works and see if you don't agree.

Roy Childs is editorial director of the Libertarian Review Foundation.

PLATFORM



Libertarian Planks

Freedom of Communication

We defend the rights of individuals to unrestricted freedom of speech and freedom of the press. It is particularly important in any society, including our own, to guarantee the right of individuals to dissent from government itself. We recognize that full freedom of expression is only possible as part of a system of full property rights. The freedom to use one's own voice; the freedom to hire a hall; the freedom to own a printing press, a broadcasting station, or a transmission cable; and similar property-based freedoms are precisely what constitute freedom of communication. At the same time, we recognize that freedom of communication does not extend to the use of other people's property to promote one's ideas without the voluntary consent of the owners.

We oppose all forms of government censorship, whatever the medium involved. Specifically, we oppose all laws against obscenity or commercial advertising. We condemn securities regulations that deprive financial advisory newsletters of freedom of the press. We further condemn indirect censorship through government control of the postal system and regulation of cable transmissions.

We support repeal of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, which classifies information as secret that should be available to taxpayers, violates freedom of speech and press, and prohibits public discussion of covert government paramilitary activities and spying abroad.

We also oppose the government's burgeoning practice of invading newsrooms, or the premises of other innocent third parties, in the name of law enforcement. We further oppose court orders gagging news coverage of criminal proceedings—the right to publish and broadcast must not be abridged merely for the convenience of the judicial system. We deplore any efforts to impose thought control on the media, either by the use of anti-trust laws, or by any other government action in the name of stopping "bias." We further deplore all measures that restrict competition in the electronic newspapers and electronic "Yellow Pages."

To complete the separation of media and State, we support legislation to repeal the Federal Communications Act and to provide for private homesteading and ownership of airwave frequencies, thus giving the electronic media First Amendment parity with the other communications media. Government regulation of broadcasting can no longer be tolerated. We therefore urge the repeal of the "fairness doctrine," the "equal time" rule, and the "reasonable access" provision. Government ownership or subsidy of broadcast band radio and television stations and networks—in particular the Corporation for Public Broadcasting—must end. We also oppose government ownership of, grants of monopoly franchise for, or regulation of "pay TV" cable or satellite transmission systems. We specifically condemn

such government efforts to control broadcast content as banning advertising for cigarettes and sugar-coated breakfast foods or regulating depiction of sex or violence.

We call for immediate cessation of federal funding and contracting of ads produced by the National Ad Council, so that no individuals be forced to pay to support issues or ideas to which they would not voluntarily contribute. The implied threat of loss of license renewal broadcasters face, if they refuse to show National Ad Council ads for free, can only be ended by abolishing the FCC.

In particular, FCC regulation of political coverage must be immediately ended, to stop its chilling effect on the level of political debate in this country. Federally-mandated lower rates for political ads, which unjustly harm established broadcasters, must end, as must FCC rules and regulations that unjustly benefit established broadcasters.

Removal of all these regulations throughout the communications media would open the way to untrammelled diversity and innovation. We shall not be satisfied until the First Amendment is expanded to protect full, unconditional freedom of communication.

The Right To Keep And Bear Arms

Maintaining our belief in the inviolability of the right to keep and bear arms, we oppose all laws at any level of government restricting the ownership, manufacture, transfer, or sale of firearms or ammunition. We oppose all laws requiring registration of firearms or ammunition. We also oppose any government efforts to ban or restrict the use of tear gas, "mace," or other non-firearm protective devices. We further oppose all attempts to ban weapons or ammunition on the grounds that they are risky or unsafe.

We support repeal of the National Firearms Act of 1935, and the Federal Gun Control Act of 1968, and we demand the immediate abolition of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms.

We favor the repeal of laws banning the concealment of weapons or prohibiting pocket weapons. We also oppose the banning of inexpensive handguns ("Saturday night specials").

None Of The Above

In order to expand the range of choice in federal, state, and local elections of government officials, we propose the addition of the alternative "None of the above is acceptable" to all ballots. In the event that "None of the above" wins a plurality of votes, the elective office for that term will remain unfilled and unfunded.

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Information for Freedom

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Andre Marrou—Alaska House of Representatives, District 5B, Homer
Bill Snyder—Homer City Council
Stan Thompson—Mayor, Kenai Peninsula Borough
Darrell Welsh—Wasilla Council
John Wood—Anchorage Municipal Assembly

Arizona

Murray Feldstein—Flagstaff City Council

California

Laurence E. Ames—Auditor-Controller, El Dorado County
Richard Arnold—San Dieguito Citizens Planning Group
Mary Earle—Carpinteria School District Board
Bob Hellam—Seaside Economic Development Commission (appointment)
Erik Henrikson—Placer County Supervisor
Ken Kott—Tahoe-Truckee Unified School District Board (Lake Tahoe area), Tahoe City Advisory Council (appointment)
Curtis Miller—Director, Yolo County Flood Control & Water Conservation District
Dennis Schlumpf—Tahoe City Advisory Council (appointment)
Tom Tryon—Supervisor, Calaveras County Planning Commission and Supervisor, Calaveras County
Lou Villadsen—Mission Canyon Fire District Board (Santa Barbara)

Delaware

Richard A. Cohen—President, New Castle Board of Health (appointment)

Florida

Lee R. Duffner—Golden Beach Vice-Mayor

Idaho

Greg Saylor—Minidoka County Assessor

Illinois

Tom Heidenfelder—Palatine Library District Trustee
Scott Tillman—Marquette Heights Alderman
Gerry Walsh—Roselle Village Board of Trustees

Indiana

Doug Boggs—Bloomington Human Resources Commission (City Council appointment)

Kansas

Douglas Merritt—Atchison City Commissioner

Michigan

Charles Congdon—Midland Cable Communications Advisory Commission (appointment)
Sheryl Loux—Kalamazoo Alternative Financing Committee (appointment by Mayor)
Mary Ruwart—Kalamazoo Safety Task Force (appointment by Mayor)
Gwendoline Stilwell—East Lansing Housing Commission

Montana

Neil Halprin—Missoula County Zoning Board of Adjustment (appointment)
Pat Summers—Missoula Urban Transportation Board

New Hampshire

Avery Johnson—Board of Selectmen, Milford
Jack Kelleher—Board of Selectmen, Epsom
Howard Wison—Budget Committee, Andover, Andover Village District Water Co-op Board

New Jersey

Randy Korman—President, Sayreville School Board

New York

Kathy Stephens—Community Board #4, Manhattan (appointment)

North Carolina

David Ford—Long Beach City Council
Ben Lamm—Wilson Board of Adjustments

Ohio

Russ Rosen—Finance Chair, Cleveland Heights Local Development Corporation

Oregon

Edward Marihart—Lane County Transit Board

Pennsylvania

Margarethe M. Kemner—Pine Creek Township Zoning Hearing Board (appointment by Township Supervisors)
Dominic D. Salvatori—Whitehall Borough Cable Television Committee (appointment)

South Dakota

Elaine Sluti—Crooks City Council

Vermont

Eloise Hedbor—Vermont Advisory Committee, U.S. Civil Rights Commission (appointment)
Steven Oviatt—High Bailiff, Grand Isle County
Traver Underwood—Vergennes City Council

Virginia

Phil Friday—Urbanna City Council

Washington

Kelly L. Haughton—Pierce County Community Action Advisory Board (appointment), and Citizen's Energy Conservation Advisory Committee (appointment, City of Tacoma)

Wisconsin

Dr. Timothy Correll—Iowa City Coroner
David Ripp—Springfield Town Clerk and Dane County Supervisor
Anthony Theisen—Green Bay Alderman, Brown County Supervisor
Tom Westgaard—Greenfield Alderman

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QTY.	ABOUT THE PARTY	\$ AMT.
_____	Q & A Brochure — explains LP positions and purposes in question and answer format	(10¢)
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_____	1984 Platform of the Libertarian Party — current statement of principles and official positions	(50¢ ea.)
_____	1984 Libertarian Party Bylaws & Convention Rules	(50¢ ea.)
_____	Fourth of July Brochures — new & revised; great handouts	(5¢ ea.)
BOOKS/POLITICAL/TECH. FILE		
_____	Libertarianism in One Lesson by David Bergland	(\$1.95 ea.)
_____	Liberty Reclaimed by Jim Lewis	(\$1.95 ea.)
_____	The Activists' Handbook published by Society for individual Liberty	(\$2 ea.)
_____	Letters to the Editor — good "how-to" brochure; 8 1/2"x11"	(5¢ ea.)
_____	How to Get Elected to Your State Legislature — Article by Hank Parkinson; reprint	(\$1.50 ea.)
_____	Winning Political Campaigns with Publicity — by Hank Parkinson; LP reprint; paper	(\$5 ea.)
POSTERS/BUMPER STICKERS/ETC.		
_____	Statement of Principles — sepia calligraphy on 8"x10" parchment-like paper; suitable for framing	(\$2 ea.)
_____	"Statue of Liberty" Deluxe Poster on 80 lb. 23" x 35" glossy stock	(\$2.50 ea., 5 for \$10)
_____	LP Posters — "Against The Draft" — LP NatCom resolution; 11"x17" parchment-like paper	(\$2 ea. or 10 for \$10.00)
_____	Bumper Stickers — blue/white, 15"x3 3/4"	(\$1 ea.)
_____	Legalize Freedom/Vote Libertarian Libertarian Party/The Party of Principle	
_____	"Vote Libertarian" Buttons — blue/white; 2 1/4"	(10¢ ea.)
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_____	Social Insecurity Cards	(1¢ ea.)
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_____	Libertarian Window Decal — blue/white on clear background; 2" letters excellent quality	(\$3 ea.)
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QUALITY NOTECARDS		
_____	"Don't Tread On Me" Flag — slogan on one side; slogan history printed on other; 4 1/2"x6 1/2" folded paper	(5¢ ea.)
_____	Statue of Liberty Notecards — with envelopes; white on blue; package of 25	(\$10 ea.)
_____	Statue of Liberty Notecards with message: "Peace, Prosperity, Freedom" (good for the holidays!) pkg. of 25 with envelopes	(\$10 ea.)
_____	Don't Tread On Me Notecards pkg. of 25 with envelopes	(\$10 ea.)
_____	LP News Subscription*/Gift Subscription — SIX issues per year; non-member or gift	(\$10 per year)
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*Optional. Federal law requires we ask.

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PLATFORM

Freedom of Religion

We defend the rights of individuals to engage in (or abstain from) any religious activities that do not violate the rights of others. In order to defend religious freedom, we advocate a strict separation of church and State. We oppose government actions that either aid or attack any religion. We oppose taxation of church property for the same reason we oppose all taxation.

We condemn the attempts by parents or any other—via kidnappings, conservatorships, or instruction under confinement—to force children to conform to their parents' or any others' religious views. Government harassment or obstruction of unconventional religious groups for their beliefs or nonviolent activities must end.

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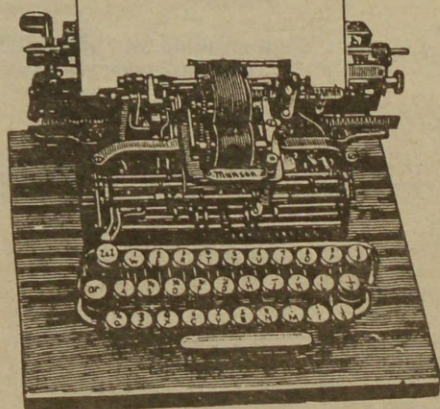
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Press Comments



The Libertarian Party has an issue to attract almost everyone who doesn't draw a paycheck from the government.
—The Village Voice

The major parties today would not recognize a good idea if it were served to them on a plate with watercress around it. Good ideas come—occasionally—from parties like the Libertarian Party, which helped make the 'free market in ideas' something more than a metaphor.

—George Will,
syndicated columnist

...for the over-taxed, over-regulated, over-burdened and under-powered millions of the American middle class, Libertarians are the only people worth voting for.

—Nicholas von Hoffman,
syndicated columnist

The most novel ideological voice is that of the Libertarians.

—The New York Times

Where both parties seem becalmed of ideas, the Libertarians send in fresh gusts... the party is far more creative, diverse in approach, and intellectually stimulating than either the Democrats or Republicans.

—Nick Thimmesch,
syndicated columnist

For sheer exhilarating appeal, the Libertarian folks have something going.

—James J. Kilpatrick,
syndicated columnist

The LP is unique, not only because it defies description in conventional liberal-conservative terms, but because of its clarity of viewpoint and the consistency with which it is applied to all issues.

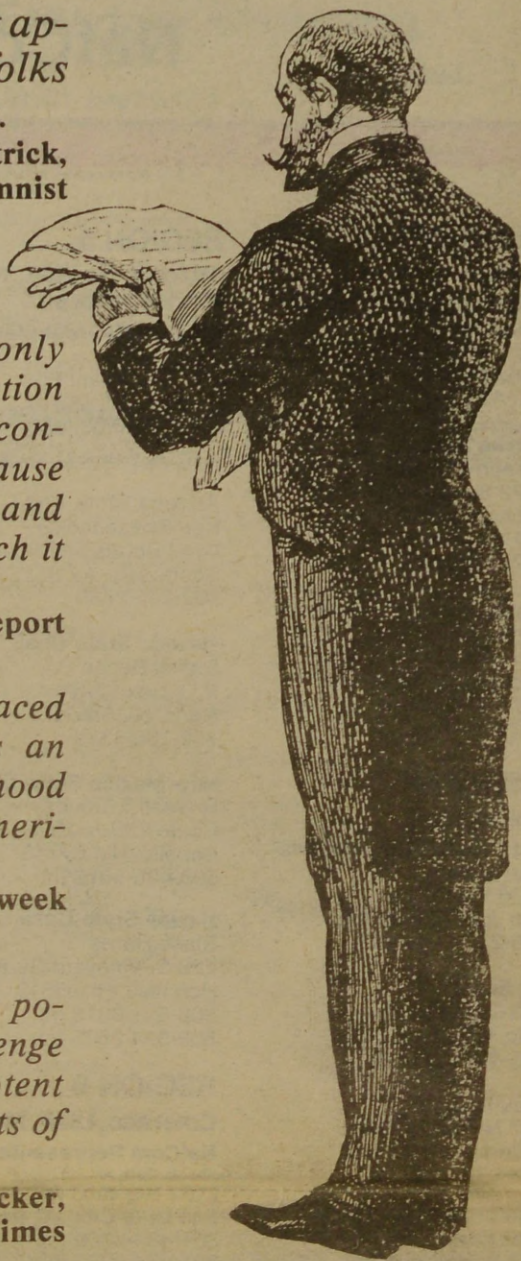
—Political Action Report

Libertarianism has surfaced in this election year as an ideology matched to the mood of many disgruntled Americans.

—Newsweek

Libertarians are serious political thinkers who challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual.

—Tom Wicker,
The New York Times



Libertarian Party

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